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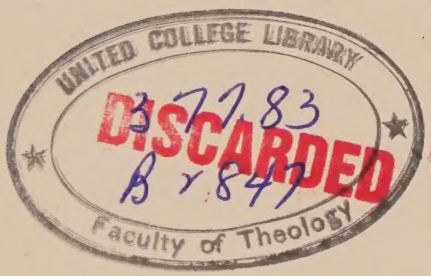

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YALE STUDIES IN THE HISTORY AND THEORY OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

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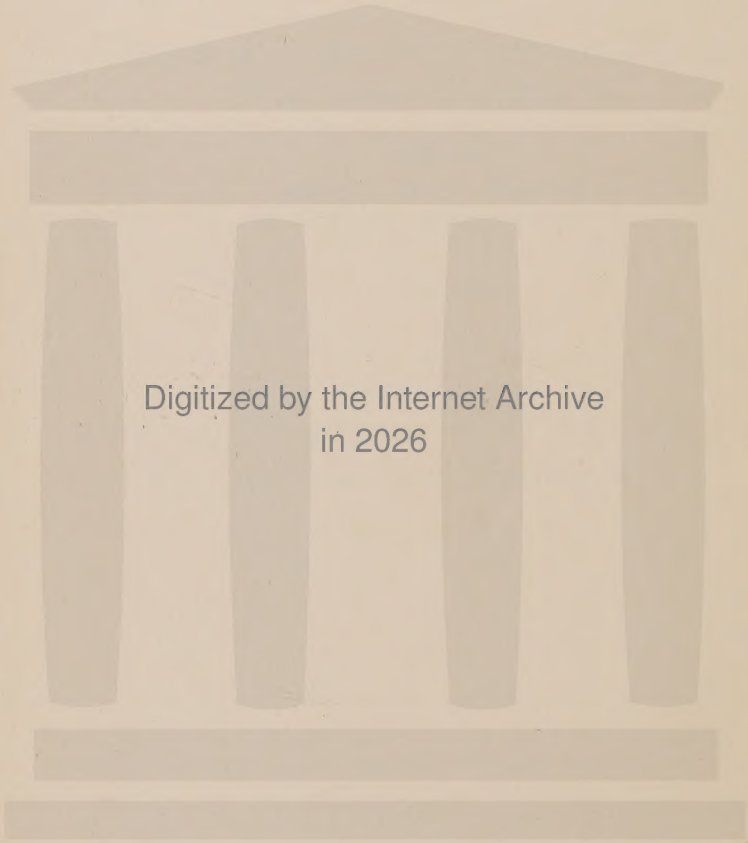
II.

A History of Religious Education in the Episcopal Church to 1835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A History of Religious Education in the Episcopal Church to 1835

By Clifton Hartwell Brewer, B.D., Ph.D.

Rector of Trinity Church, Branford
Lecturer on the History and Polity of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Yale University
Lecturer on Religious Education, Berkeley Divinity School

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To My Wife
Margaret.

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First Period.

The Colonial Background.

I.

TRANSPLANTING THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND ITS EDUCATIONAL IDEALS

ON the title-page of the Episcopal Prayer Book appears the full name of the Church,—"The Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America." This was the official title given, under new conditions of political independence, to what in colonial days had been known as "The Church of England in America."[1] It was literally that,—the Church of England projected across the Atlantic Ocean to the settlements along the coast in the new country. This direct connection with the English Church is attested in the petition for the consecration of American Bishops, dated October 5, 1785, sent to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and the Bishops of the Church of England, by "the Clerical and Lay Deputies of the Protestant Episcopal Church in sundry of the United States of America." We read:

> Our forefathers, when they left the land of their nativity, did not leave the bosom of that Church, over which your Lordships now preside; but, as well from a veneration for Episcopal Government as from an attachment to the admirable services of our Liturgy, continued in willing connection with their Ecclesiastical Superiors in England, and were subjected to many local inconveniences, rather than break the Unity of the Church to which they belonged. . . . We pray that our Church may be a lasting monument . . . and that her sons may never cease to be kindly affectioned to the members of that Church, the Fathers of which have so tenderly watched over her infancy.[2]

[1] White, *Memoirs*, pp. 97, 297.
[2] *Journal*, Gen. Conv. 1785, Bioren reprint, pp. 12-14.

It was the Bishop of London whose business it was to "watch over" the Church in the colonies.[3] As early as 1634, King Charles I had made that officer the supervisor of the colonial clergy,[4] but in 1675, when Henry Compton, Bishop of London, investigated his supposed duties of oversight in the colonies, he found his jurisdiction there rather slight. Not only were the clergy few in number,[5] but also the distance was too great to permit efficient superintendence.[4] It would be a mistake, however, to regard the Bishop of London's oversight in the colonies as constantly "shadowy."[6] No doubt that word applied to what Bishop Compton found, but he proceeded to make his part substantial. He abolished the element of distance by sending active agents to the colonies. In 1689 he despatched the Rev. James Blair as his commissary to Virginia.[7] To say nothing of Blair's long career of usefulness to the Church as a whole in Virginia, his large share in the founding of William and Mary College, soon to be described, entitles him to high praise in any history of colonial education. The Rev. Dr. Thomas Bray, appointed commissary for Maryland in April, 1696, waited in England nearly five years for the Legislature in Maryland to enact measures providing for the maintenance of the Church; he employed this time preparing and sending, not only missionaries, but also libraries for them, to Maryland and to some of the other colonies. These activities led to the formation, in 1698, of the *Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge,* a publication agency which is still (1924) in active existence. After finally spending a part of the year 1700 in Maryland, he returned to England and urged people there to help the Church in the new country. As a direct result of his zeal in this matter,

[3] White, *Memoirs,* p. 5.
[4] Pascoe, *Classified Digest of S. P. G. Records,* p. 743.
[5] *Ibid.,* pp. 1, 2.
[6] McConnell, *Hist. of Am. Episc. Ch.,* p. 96, thus designates it.
[7] Motley, *Life of Blair,* p. 14.

came the organization, in 1701, of the great missionary association, *The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts*.[8] A very large part of the history of the Church in the colonies may be found in the records of that remarkable organization. Its long title is often abbreviated to "S. P. G.," which will be used in this book to designate that active body.

The charter of the S. P. G. refers to the "want of learned and orthodox ministers" in the colonies; it maintains that the glory of God will be promoted "by the Instruction of our people in the Christian Religion."[9] Beside furnishing careful oversight of the clergy, the society provided them with books needed for worship, and with Catechisms for distribution among the people.[10] To supplement the work of the clergy, the organization also sent out and paid for schoolmasters, the religious requirements of whom were nearly as strict as those of the clergy.[11] From the year 1704, when the S. P. G. started its work of education by opening a catechizing school for Indians and negroes in New York City,[12] to the beginning of the Revolution, that organization's educational activities in the colonies never flagged. How religious the education of the period was may be judged from the nature of the school just mentioned as the first one started by the S. P. G.; more will be said later concerning the religious character of colonial education. How English the educational ideas of the S. P. G. were may be taken for granted of an English organization, directed from London and operating in English colonies. The society's expectation to reproduce English charity schools, for example, is plainly seen in the fact that

[8] Steiner, *Life of Bray*, pp. 17-19, 21, 22, 29, 32, 37, 245. He arrived in America on March 12 and started back to England soon after the "Visitation," or general gathering of the clergy, held at Annapolis May 23, 1700.

[9] Charter of S. P. G., in *Coll. of S. P. G. Papers*, printed in 1712, pp. 1, 2.

[10] Orders Relating to Missionaries, in *Coll. of S. P. G. Papers*, p. 55.

[11] Instructions to Schoolmasters, and Orders Relating to Schoolmasters, in *Coll. of S. P. G. Papers*, pp. 29, 56-58.

[12] *Cf.* Pascoe, *Class. Digest of S. P. G. Records*, p. 769.

it provided an assortment of prayers to be used in such schools in America.[13]

The process of transmitting English ideas of church and of education is to be seen at its best in primitive Virginia. Those who are familiar with the early history of that colony will recall it as a pure Church of England settlement, wherein the English Church system was literally transplanted from one country to the other. Three ships containing English Churchmen landed at Jamestown, Virginia, on the thirteenth of May, 1607.[14] To be quite sure of maintaining worship according to the English Liturgy, as the King required,[15] they actually brought along with them a Church of England clergyman, the Rev. Robert Hunt;[16] that he had come to stay, is evidenced by the fact that his library was put ashore with the rest of the company's belongings.[17] As McConnell says, the colony was "simply a little English parish, bringing its minister, its Prayer Book, its customs, and its thoughts. . . . It set about to reproduce the old home life."[18] Of the many interesting features of that life, it is proper to omit here all but that of education. The colony was hardly in good running order before it started a college. The name of it was to be "Henrico." We cannot exactly credit it with being the first college actually *operated* in what is now the United States of America; it is fair, however, to say that it was the first college *enterprise* in the colonies.[19] Matters had proceeded only as far as making contracts with the brickmakers,[20] when disaster came.

On March 22, 1622, after much brooding and plotting, the

[13] *Cf. Coll. of S. P. G. Papers,* pp. 33-36.
[14] Neill, *Hist. of Virginia Company,* pp. 15, 16.
[15] Stith, *Hist. of Va.,* p. 37.
[16] *Ibid.,* p. 44. Also, Hawks, *Va.,* pp. 17-20.
[17] Hawks, *Va.,* p. 21.
[18] McConnell, *Hist. of Episc. Church,* pp. 17, 18.
[19] It was conceived, and contributions for it were started, as early as 1618 (*cf.* Neill, *Va. Co.,* p. 137).
[20] Neill, *Va. Co.,* p. 330.

Indians suddenly appeared among the unsuspecting whites, and slaughtered them without mercy or discrimination.[21] On the college lands alone, seventeen workers were slain,[22] one of whom was the energetic superintendent, Mr. George Thorpe.[23] This bloody slaughter ended for some time all projects for either school or college in Virginia.[24] The same year as the massacre, however, Mr. Edward Palmer, "an English scholar of wealth,"[25] obtained a patent of land from the Virginia Company[26] and planned an *"Academia Virginiensis et Oxoniensis"* on Palmer's Island (later called Watson's Island) at the mouth of the Susquehanna River.[27] This institution was to have a school of painting, in both "oyle cullors" and "water cullors." Mr. Palmer spent considerable money on his proposed "Academia," but he died before the institution could be put into operation. His will left the property to his son and his nephew, to be used for the university only on condition that they should die without issue.[28] Thus the second project for a university in America came to naught.

In 1662, when the laws of Virginia were revised, the subject came up again. After reference to the lack of clergy and the difficulty of getting them from distant England, the new laws provided "that for the advance of learning, education of youth, supply of the ministry and promotion of piety, there be land taken up, or purchased, for a college and free school; and that there be, with as much speed as may be convenient, housing erected thereon for the entertainment of students and schol-

[21] Stith, *Hist. of Va.*, p. 208.
[22] Hawks, *Va.*, p. 41.
[23] Neill, *Va. Vet.*, p. 119; *College of William and Mary, Faculty History*, p. 34.
[24] Stith, *Hist. of Va.*, p. 217.
[25] Neill, *Hist. of Va. Co.*, p. 197, note.
[26] The patent was granted July 3, 1622. *Cf.* Neill, *Hist. of Va. Co.*, pp. 313, 315; Neill, *Va. Vet.*, p. 183.
[27] This is in Maryland, not in Virginia.
[28] Neill, *Va. Vet.*, pp. 182-184.

ars."[29] Notwithstanding this definite enactment, nothing was done in the matter. Hawks says it was "permitted to slumber on the statute books."[30]

An awakening occurred in 1690, when the Rev. James Blair, who had come to Virginia as commissary there of the Bishop of London, began to stir up interest in education. Blair felt that a college was greatly needed, so he opened a subscription list and received good sums; part of this response came from a few London merchants. In 1691 the Virginia Assembly voted approval of Blair's eagerness to establish a college, and sent him to England to get a charter and gather funds. When the Assembly granted a testimonial of three hundred pounds to Governor Nicholson, he gave half of it to the college.[31] Across the water, royal favor granted 20,000 acres of land to the college, and the revenue from a tax of one penny on every pound of tobacco sent from Virginia or Maryland to any of the other colonies; a thousand pounds due to the Crown from Virginia for quit-rents was transferred to the benefit of the college, in addition to the revenue from a duty on furs and skins exported from the colony.[32] In 1693 the Legislature voted to locate the institution at Williamsburg.[33] The charter from the King named the college "William and Mary," and appointed the Rev. James Blair, already nominated by the Virginia Assembly, as its first president.[34]

A grammar school opened in 1693, the year the charter was obtained. By 1697 the college itself was under way, with twenty-nine students; the first commencement was in 1700.[35]

[29] Laws of Va., quoted by Hawks, *Va.*, p. 68.
[30] Hawks, *Va.*, p. 74.
[31] Motley, *Life of Blair*, pp. 26, 27; Hawks, *Va.*, pp. 74-76.
[32] *Charter, Transfer and Statutes of the College of William and Mary*, pp. 77-83.
[33] Hawks, *Va.*, p. 77.
[34] *Charter of Wm. and Mary College*, pp. 17-19, 21.
[35] Motley, *Life of Blair*, pp. 33, 34.

The college building, begun about 1695,[36] from plans by Sir Christopher Wren,[37] was destroyed by fire in 1705; however, aided by "patience and good husbandry" and by "the bounty of Queen Anne," the place was built up again.[38] In the meantime, the Hon. Robert Boyle had died in England, in 1691, leaving his property to charity at the discretion of his executors.[39] After some litigation, and after considerable solicitation by Blair, the bulk of the estate came to William and Mary College. The institution invested it in "Brafferton," an English estate, and used the proceeds for the education of American Indians. The college erected "Brafferton Hall," a twelve-room house, which until the Revolution they used solely for Indian education on the Boyle foundation.[40] By 1732 the college chapel was opened. That same year the college issued orders to the students not to have anything to do with racehorses, gaming tables and cockfights. In 1754 the faculty authorized the appointment of a person to hear boys recite Bible verses each school day at noon; the annual salary was "one pistole for each boy." These little details help us to feel the atmosphere of the time in this, the second oldest college of our country. Until the Revolution, it was also the richest college in North America.[41] More will be said about it when we come to the subject of colonial schools and colleges.

An examination of the charter of the College of William and Mary shows the threefold object of the institution. It was to

[36] *Ibid.*, p. 37.

[37] *Coll. of Wm. and Mary, Faculty Hist.*, p. 40.

[38] *Charter, Transfer and Statutes of the Coll. of Wm. and Mary*, p. 117.

[39] *Ibid.*, p. 86; *Coll. of Wm. and Mary, Faculty Hist.*, p. 42. Boyle had been greatly interested in the welfare of the American Indians. He helped to secure the charter, in 1662, for the Company for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England and the parts adjacent in America, and became its first Governor (Pascoe, *Class. Digest of S. P. G. Records*, p. 3; also, Perry, *Papers relating to the Hist. of the Church in Mass.*, p. 647).

[40] Motley, *Life of Blair*, p. 38. At the time of the Revolution the college lost the Boyle fund.

[41] *Coll. of Wm. and Mary, Faculty Hist.*, pp. 46-48.

furnish Virginia with a "seminary of ministers of the Gospel"; it was to enable the youth to "be piously educated in good letters and manners"; and it was to help propagate the Christian faith "amongst the Western Indians."[42] The same three objects, worded a little differently, are embodied in the statutes of the College.[43] We may well ponder here, for these three aims were not peculiar to the College of William and Mary; they were standard objects of education in colonial times. The education of ministers was desired, not merely to supply the ranks with workers, but, quite as much, to maintain standards of learning among them. One of the statutes of the College of William and Mary, referring to the Divinity School, contains the warning, "let no block head or lazy fellow in his studies be elected."[44] The requirement of piety in education was according to the established order of the time; education was under Church auspices and was largely religious in character.[45] We have already said that the native Indians were objects of serious educational concern in early colonial days; coupled with the negroes, they continued to be regarded as in need of training. Each of these three general aims of the College of William and Mary—the preparation of ministers, the pious education of youth and the teaching of Christianity to the Indians—shall have further consideration as typical educational purposes in colonial times.

[42] *Charter of the Coll. of Wm. and Mary*, p. 5.

[43] Statutes, p. 125, of the *Charter, Transfer and Statutes of the Coll. of Wm. and Mary.*

[44] *Charter, Transfer and Statutes of the Coll. of Wm. and Mary*, p. 133.

[45] *Cf.* Brown, S. W., *The Secularization of American Education* for an account of the later change from sacred to secular aims.

II.

MAINTAINING TRADITIONS OF LEARNING AMONG THE COLONIAL CLERGY

ONE of the reasons for starting the S. P. G. was the prevalence of atheism in the colonies because "the Publick Worship of God" was lacking, and another reason was the tendency to relapse into "Popish Superstition and Idolatry" because there was not enough instruction by "Learned and Orthodox Ministers."[1] To remedy such evils, the S. P. G. required of the clergy at work under their auspices "a sound Knowledge and hearty belief of the Christian Religion."[2] They were to "take a special Care, to lay a good Foundation for all their other Ministrations, by Catechizing those under their Care, whether Children, or other ignorant Persons, explaining the Catechism to them in the most easie and familiar Manner."[3]

The third of the society's orders relating to missionaries grants a sum, not exceeding ten pounds, to each missionary sent out by the society to a place without a library, "towards buying any of the Books mention'd in the Society's Catalogue."[4] The first report of the S. P. G., printed in 1704, acknowledges the good effect produced "by the assiduous and pious care of the Reverend Mr. Bray" in establishing libraries for the sixteen ministers then settled in Maryland parishes. The same report shows that the society sent to the missionaries books, and also money for books; libraries were recognized as a legitimate demand upon the society.[5] Toward the end of the colonial period

[1] Charter of S. P. G., in *Coll. of S. P. G. Papers*, pp. 1, 2.
[2] Instructions to Clergy, in *S. P. G. Papers*, p. 20.
[3] *Ibid.*, VIII, p. 24.
[4] Orders Relating to the Missionaries, in *S. P. G. Papers*, 1712, p. 53.
[5] *First Report of S. P. G.*, 1704, pp. 10-16.

the society replaced a library for a Connecticut missionary. Mr. Leaming wrote from Norwalk (September 29, 1762) that the library "given by the Society for this mission" had been sold by his predecessor. The society voted to send another library.[6]

A clergyman who found it hard to keep up the ministerial standard of learning was the Rev. Mr. Forbes, who wrote to the Bishop of London about his work in Virginia. There was no public school, and the private schools were defective. Neither was there any library. His own private library, he lamented, was "very mean." He had had a chance to peruse "Bp. Patrick's Commentary," but he wanted to purchase "Bibliotheca Critico-Sacra" and a complete Ecclesiastical History, "having none but Grynaeus's Collections of the first Six Centuries & Bp. of Norwich's Book of Canons, Articles &c. Ecclesiastical." He did not say whether he owned the "Prospectives of Bp. Walton and D. Castellus," but he praised them as good weapons against Barclay's criticisms of the Bible.[7]

The Church at work during the great revival toward the middle of the eighteenth century bristled here and there with contempt for the "New Lights," kindled without the aid of sound learning. From various parts of the country came the information that the inevitable confusion among the "New Light" teachers was driving people into the quiet and order of the Church of England, where "more truly Christian, as well as more Rational, Doctrines" were taught. The word from Boston in 1742 was that from the furor concerning Whitefield and his followers "the Church of *England* had escaped beyond Expectation." Dr. Cutler, who, while Rector of Yale College, had become convinced of the validity of the Church of England, wrote from his ministerial field in Boston that "many illiterate Tradesmen, pretending a Call to the publick Exercise of their Gifts of Praying and Preaching were helping forward the

[6] *Abstract of S. P. G. Proceedings*, 1763-1764, p. 70.
[7] Perry, *Hist. Papers, Va.*, pp. 326 ff.

strange Work." Connecticut reported "the Extravagance of enthusiastick Teachers" and told of one Davenport, an independent teacher who had strayed into Connecticut from Southold, Long Island, and who had been declared by the Assembly to be *"disturbed in the rational Faculties of his Mind."* Not only teachers, however, but "Taylors, Shoemakers, and other Mechanicks, and even Women, Boys and Girls were become (as their Term is) Exhorters."[8]

By way of contrast with these emotionalists, there was the Rev. Mr. Giles, a gentleman who had "made good Proficiency in mathematical, philosophical and theological Studies, as well as in Latin and Greek"; it was thus that he was recommended by the Rev. Messrs. Johnson, Ogilvie and Auchmuty as one of the two missionaries for Dover, Pennsylvania. This shows not only Mr. Giles's attainments, but also the appreciation of those attainments by three representative clergymen. From Oxford, Pennsylvania, the Rev. Mr. Neill penned a recommendation for ordination of his nephew, Mr. Hugh Wilson, who was then reading divinity under Mr. Barton, of Lancaster, and also acting as tutor to some boys in a gentleman's family. Previous to that time he had been studying under Mr. Neill's "inspection."[9]

A very good illustration of comparative efficiency in theological training is seen in the "inspection" method applied to William Claggett, afterward Bishop of Maryland. He was put under the instruction of his uncle, the Rev. John Eversfield, Rector of St. Paul's Church, Prince George's County, Maryland. After remaining there three years, he went to Lower Marlboro Academy and from there to the New Jersey College (later called Princeton). After that, he returned to his uncle and studied theology with him. Although Eversfield was fond of "a good mount and a pack of hounds," he was a man of sound

[8] *Abstract of S. P. G. Proceedings*, 1743-1744, p. 43; 1742-1743, pp. 40, 41.
[9] *Abstract of S. P. G. Proceedings*, 1765-1766, p. 32; 1764-1765, pp. 80, 81.

learning. As was frequently the case with the clergy, he kept a private school at his house.[10]

There were greater men than Eversfield to support the educational reputation of the Church. There was Dean Berkeley, for instance, the brilliant and learned philosopher-clergyman of the Church of England who came to the colonies[11] in the hope of founding a great American university. He failed in this mission,[12] but he left behind him a reputation for clerical learning and culture.[13] This advocate of a large seat of learning in the colonies, this brilliant and gracious philosopher, this clergyman of keen intellect and extensive knowledge, must have been remembered with great satisfaction and encouragement a decade later when the clergy were trying to hold a dignified and reasoned course against the strong tide of unlearned exhortation and intemperate emotionalism which were features of the great revival movement.

The name of Dr. Samuel Johnson was associated more or less with that of Berkeley during the latter's sojourn in Newport. Johnson visited him there and formed a lasting friendship, through which, for one thing, came Berkeley's gifts to the library at Yale University.[14] But Johnson's reputation was not a mere reflection from Berkeley; in his own right it was fully deserved. Johnson was born in Guilford, Connecticut, October 14, 1696. After being a tutor at Yale for three years, he became a Congregational minister. His reading and thinking soon led him to the doors of the Episcopal Church; he went to England

[10] Utley, *Life of Claggett,* pp. 8; 12, 13.

[11] Berkeley was in Newport, Rhode Island, nearly three years, 1729-1731. He had no official connection with the Church in the colonies.

[12] Fraser, *Life of Berkeley,* pp. 103 ff., 191.

[13] McConnell, *Hist. of P. E. Ch.,* pp. 133, 134; Tiffany, *Hist. of P. E. Ch.,* pp. 284-286; Berrian, *Hist. of Trinity Ch., N. Y.,* p. 112; Beardsley, *Life of Johnson,* p. 156. McConnell says that learned men, after meeting Berkeley, became "biassed in favor of a Church which could produce and retain such a man."

[14] Beardsley, *Life of Johnson,* pp. 67, 78; Fraser, *Life of Berkeley,* p. 174.

and was ordained priest on March 31, 1723. Upon his return he located in Stratford, Connecticut, as Church of England missionary, where he rapidly became the leading spirit among the New England clergy. In 1743 Oxford conferred the degree of D.D. on him. Three years later he published his *System of Morality*. In 1754 the appearance of the third edition of his *Elements of Philosophy* added to his fame. Meanwhile he had declined the presidency of the new college in Philadelphia. When King's College, afterward Columbia, was started, in 1754, Johnson became its first president. In 1763, crushed by the death of his second wife, he resigned and returned to Stratford; there he remained, doing parish work and studying Hebrew. He died in 1772.[15]

The man who became the first head of the Philadelphia college was the Rev. William Smith, "a man of great learning and executive ability."[16] He came to this country from England in 1751. While serving as tutor to two young men, he wrote a pamphlet on the subject of *A General Idea of the College of Mirania,* a copy of which he sent to Benjamin Franklin. The latter's opinion of the effort may be judged from the fact that Smith was soon invited to come and teach at the Academy and Charitable School in Philadelphia, of which Franklin was chairman of the Board of Trustees. Smith accepted, but before beginning his duties he went to London and was ordained in December, 1753. He returned to Philadelphia in May, 1754, and began to teach at the academy. On May 14, 1755, the institution received a new charter, giving it college standing with

[15] Beardsley, *Life of Johnson,* pp. 1, 9-15, 37, 54, 89, 117, 123, 153, 167, 176, 190, 191, 287, 306, 349.

[16] Wickersham, *Hist. of Ed. in Pa.,* p. 63, thus praises him. McConnell, *Hist. of Episc. Church,* p. 220, gives Smith similar credit. Utley, *Life of Claggett,* p. 45, says there can be no doubt about Smith's being "one of the most learned men of his time in America." One cannot read the small book by Stillé (*Memoir of Smith*) or the large two-volume *Life of Smith* by H. W. Smith, without the conviction that in Smith the Episcopal Church had a learned and powerful educator.

power to confer degrees. Smith became the first provost of the college.[17] In 1759 he received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from both Oxford and the University of Aberdeen; a few years later he was similarly recognized by the University of Dublin.[18] Under Dr. Smith's guidance the college continued to prosper, and his own reputation increased, until the turbulent days of the Revolution.[19] In 1783, he was elected the first Bishop of Maryland, but was never consecrated.[20]

Another person who added to the academic reputation of the clergy was Timothy Cutler, who, upon deciding to enter the communion of the Church of England, was "excused" from further service as Rector of Yale College.[21] After his ordination, in 1723, he went to Boston and served long as the first Rector of the historic Christ Church.[22]

It seems evident, then, that the Church of England transmitted to the colonies some firm traditions of an educated clergy, traditions which have been perpetuated. Of course England did not send her great scholars, and she did send some clergymen of whom, for reasons other than literary, she was glad to be rid; but those who came had been trained in the English atmosphere of efficient learning. No doubt Robert Hunt, when he brought his library to Virginia with him, was doing what many of the clergy did who came afterward to minister to colonial settlers. The Rev. Mr. Forbes's lament over the lack of schools in his neighborhood and his own want

[17] Stillé, *Memoir of Smith,* pp. 5, 6, 9, 10.

[18] Smith, H. W., *Life of Wm. Smith,* I, pp. 201, 202, 331.

[19] Stillé, *Memoir of Smith, passim.*

[20] *Ibid.,* p. 60.

[21] Beardsley, *Hist. of the Church in Conn.,* I, p. 42.

[22] Eaton, *Hist. Ac. of Christ Church,* pp. 8, 9. In the steeple of this church were hung the lanterns which gave Paul Revere the signals for his patriotic ride on the night of April 18, 1775. Also, the Sunday School of Christ Church, started on the fourth of June, 1815, was among the first Episcopal schools organized for purely religious purposes. We shall see later that it was the model for the official plan of organization and method recommended by the General Protestant Episcopal Sunday School Union when it was organized, in 1826.

of books bespeaks genuine interest in, and appreciation of, educational advantages. It was no mere Pharisaism that generated the contempt expressed for illiterate preachers in the days of the Great Revival; it was the obvious contrast with the careful training felt to be a necessity for those who would save the souls of their fellow men. The blind could not properly lead the blind. It is to the point to note here the comparatively efficient training of native candidates before the time of theological seminaries; the cases of Messrs. Giles, Wilson and Claggett were mentioned. They were men not only of promise, but of actual achievement in theological matters. Considerable impetus was given to the tradition of a learned clergy by such men as Cutler, Smith and Johnson, and the famous Berkeley, who tarried in the colonies several years; colonial minds must have been greatly impressed with the fact that such learned people were clergymen of the Church of England.

III.

THE CHURCH RESPONSIBLE FOR EDUCATION

THE predominant feature of colonial education was the religious purpose in it.[1] This was true of all sections of the country, but there were differences of educational policy between the Church of England and the leaders in New England, for instance, where reaction from English ideas took the form of Congregationalism. In New England, particularly in Massachusetts and Connecticut, a new conception of universal public education soon took root; it was this democratic idea that finally won its way. On the other hand, the Church of England came to this country intact; there was no sharp break in Church polity or in the permanent sense of responsibility for education. Without looking toward the training of the masses, the Church held to her acknowledged duty to educate the young who came under her influence. The spread of the New England policy of education for all led to the gradual transfer of school matters from church auspices to public control; if the Church of England policy had prevailed, it would have kept education as a function of the Church, and consequently religion as the main purpose of educational efforts.

What has been said of the S. P. G. shows that organization as a strong arm of the Church of England extending across the seas. The first order of the S. P. G. given to schoolmasters required the prospective master to certify his age, condition, temper, prudence, learning, affection to the government; and his "zeal for religion," his "sober and pious conversation" and his "conformity to the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England." In the second order was the requirement of an

[1] *Cf.* Cubberley, *Pub. Ed. in U. S.*, pp. 28 ff.; Brown, *The Secularization of American Education*, pp. 5 ff.

examination, by three members of the society, in ability to teach reading, writing and the Catechism and "such Exposition thereof, as the Society shall order." The third order called for testimonials signed by the minister of the parish from which the man came; if this was not practicable, then there must be signatures of "other persons of credit and note, three at least of the communion of the Church of England."[2] One of the three must be a clergyman, and all must be known to some of the members of the society. In the eighth order to schoolmasters, we read that they were not to be sent out in the society's service until they had been "Episcopally ordained Deacon."[3] This rule demanding ordination, however, soon fell into disuse; most of the teachers came from the colonies, where there were no Bishops to ordain them.[4]

In these rigid orders we see how definitely an affair of the Church colonial education was. We shall see this, too, in the curricula and in the classroom work. We shall see that of the text-books used, the Bible and the Catechism were first in importance. However, there were changes to come; even before the Revolution broke out, the religious control of education was beginning to weaken.[5] The eighteenth century witnessed the breakdown of the traditional authority in the Church and theology.[6] The individual free-thinking man began to appear on the field of history; his thoughts were beginning to run to things beyond the pale of religious interests. This weakening of

[2] For instance, Rowland Jones, schoolmaster, was recommended as "a man that attends the worship of the Church some times at Chester & some times at Concord. He also partakes of the Communion of the Lord's Table; and we never knew nor heard but that he was truly affected both to Church and Government." This recommendation was signed by Richard Backhouse (missionary at Chester, Pa.), Alex. (his × mark) Hunter, John Mather. *Cf.* Perry, *Historical Collections, Pennsylvania,* pp. 171, 172.

[3] Orders Relating to Schoolmasters, in *Coll. of S. P. G. Papers,* pp. 57, 58.

[4] Pascoe, *Class. Digest of S. P. G. Records,* p. 845.

[5] *Cf.* Cubberley, *Public Education in the United States,* p. 38.

[6] For good short treatments of this matter, *cf.* H. S. Nash, *The History of the Higher Criticism;* or J. B. Bury, *A History of Freedom of Thought.*

the religious hold was followed by the great political upheaval which turned the colonies into a democracy wherein each citizen could contribute to the general good only on the basis of intelligence. Under this philosophy, the educational function was gradually shifted from the Church to the State.

A. *SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES OF THE PERIOD*

In Virginia, as we have seen, education got an early start. Connected with the College of William and Mary were four schools, the Grammar School, the Philosophy School, the Divinity School and the Indian School. Of these we get a nearer view in the statutes published June 24, 1727. In the Indian School only one master was provided for, at a salary of forty or fifty pounds a year. He was to teach reading, writing and "vulgar arithmetick"; especially was he to teach the Catechism and the principles of the Christian religion. The Divinity School had two professors, between whom the students divided their time. The Philosophy School had two masters or professors, one to teach "Rhetorick, Logick and Ethics," and the other to teach "Physicks, Metaphysicks and Mathematicks."

In the Grammar School, Latin and Greek were the prescribed subjects of study, to be taught from the same books as those which either law or custom required in England; nothing was to be taught which even "insinuates anything against Religion and good morals." On Saturdays and the eve of holidays, "let a sacred lesson be learned" out of Castalio's *Dialogues* or Buchanan's *Paraphrase of the Psalms,* "or any other good book." The Catechism of the Church of England must be learned in "the vulgar tongue" and by advanced scholars "likewise in Latin."[7]

A free school had been started at Annapolis, Maryland, as early as 1696, under the name of "King William's School."[8]

[7] *Charter, Transfer and Statutes of the Coll. of Wm. and Mary,* pp. 129, 131.
[8] Steiner, *Hist. of Ed. in Md.,* pp. 21 ff.

Its purpose was "to instruct youth in Arithmetick, Navigation and all useful learning, but chiefly for the fitting such as are disposed to study divinity."[9] Governor Nicholson gave the land for a school building, which was completed in 1701.[10] It was a plain brick structure, located south of the court house; in addition to the necessary classrooms, it contained an apartment for the teacher and his family.[11] After the Revolution, the school became St. John's College.

At Dr. Bray's conference with the clergy, held in Annapolis on May 23, 24 and 25, 1700, one of the resolutions was that young people should read "such books as we shall advise them," especially those dealing with "the Nature, Terms and Conditions of Grace." They were to meet every Sunday at the church, or some other convenient place, to confer about their reading. Gathered for this purpose, they were to sing "the New Version of Psalms according to the best Tunes." Books were available right in the town; they were given gratis "to the poor Children and Servants."[12] In 1724 the Legislature of Maryland established a school in each county, the teacher of which in every case must be a pious member of the Church of England; beside the customary amount of religion, he was to teach grammar, writing and mathematics. However, the scattered condition of the population interfered with the execution of this admirable plan.[13]

In South Carolina, schools were started comparatively early. On the eighth of April, 1710, the Legislature voted to establish a school in Charles-Town; but another year elapsed before the school was really created. The master's duties fell on William Guy, who was also assistant minister in St. Philip's Parish. He

[9] Perry, *Hist. Papers, Md.*, p. 33.
[10] Riley, *History of Annapolis*, pp. 78, 79.
[11] Ridgley, *Annals of Annapolis*, p. 107.
[12] "The Acts of Dr. Bray's Visitation," London, 1700; reprinted in Appendix to Hawks, *Md.*, pp. 497, 499, 502-504.
[13] Hawks, *Md.*, pp. 173, 174.

was soon succeeded in the school by Thomas Morritt. On December 12, 1712, the Legislature passed an act incorporating it as a Free School, declaring that such an institution was necessary and that several bequests had been left for it. The master must be of the religion of the Church of England and able to catechize and give religious instruction as well as to teach Latin and Greek. A brick schoolhouse was erected.[14]

In St. Thomas's Parish, South Carolina, a free school was established by the will of Richard Beresford, Esq.; in 1725, the Rev. Mr. Hasell reported the purchase of six hundred acres of land, with suitable buildings, within a mile of the church. On March 26, 1734, Mr. Hasell wrote that several poor boys were being educated in the school and maintained out of the charitable fund given for its support. In 1737, the school was incorporated. A quarter of a century later there were eight poor children "who are furnished with Cloaths, Board and Education, wholly at the charge of that Charity; and a Master is allowed a competent Salary for teaching them Reading, Writing and Arithmetick, so as to fit them for Apprentices."[15]

An idea of the situation in North Carolina comes from Governor Dobbs's letter to the S. P. G. written March 29, 1764, in which he said that there were few or no schools in the province; he hoped, however, that the new vestry law would put a missionary and schoolmaster in every county. The next year a school was built at Newbern; the schoolmaster was Mr. Tomlinson.[16]

Georgia, too, was weak in school activities. In 1766 the Rev. Mr. Frink found a proper master, who was to receive twelve pounds from the government at home and an additional sum by subscription. "Edward Barnard," Frink wrote, "of this

[14] Dalcho, *Hist. of P. E. Ch. in S. C.*, pp. 93-96.

[15] *Abstract of S. P. G. Proceedings*, 1726-1727, p. 39; 1733-1734, p. 46; 1738-1739, p. 58; 1763-1764, p. 95.

[16] *Abstract of S. P. G. Proceedings*, 1764-1765, pp. 84, 85, 88.

Place [Augusta] proposes to pay for the Instruction and Cloathing of six Children."[17]

Such a proposition would sound strange now, when there are tax-supported schools for all; but in colonial times the only way for the children of the poor to get an education was through the Church or through private charitable foundations like those of Mr. Barnard or Mr. Beresford. Particularly where the Church of England prevailed[18] was there the idea that the mental development of poor children, when undertaken at all, should be paid for by charitable donations. Although all of the schoolmasters of the S. P. G. were really doing charity work,[19] the schools technically called "charity schools" were those where the children received not only instruction but also "Cloathing" and board. Such institutions were not confined to the South. The first one grew out of a school started in New York City about the beginning of the eighteenth century. In 1709 the S. P. G. formally added the name of William Huddlestone, the schoolmaster there, to its roll. He received the book of printed orders for the government of charity schools by the English method. Tuition and books were given free to forty pupils.[20] Mr. Huddlestone believed that clothing, also, should be supplied, "as charity schools in England."[21] However, that came later, not through the S. P. G. in London, but as a gratuity from Trinity Church, New York City.[20]

Trinity Church had been interested in the school from the start. As time went on, this interest increased. In 1718 that church granted sittings to the pupils of the Charity School. In 1732 it appointed a committee to investigate the school at

[17] *Abstract of S. P. G. Proceedings,* 1766-1767, p. 69.

[18] Cubberley, *Pub. Ed. in U. S.,* p. 24.

[19] The S. P. G. received its charter as a "charitable" organization (*cf.* Charter in *Coll. of S. P. G. Papers,* pp. 10-13). Donations and bequests came in each year to help the work of the S. P. G. (*Cf.* annual reports. That for 1743-1744, *e.g.,* p. 31, says that the gifts came from "charitable and well-disposed persons.")

[20] Kemp, *Support of Schools in Col. N. Y. by S. P. G.,* pp. 80, 81, 83, 85.

[21] *S. P. G. Letter Book,* A, 7, p. 146, quoted by Kemp, *op. cit.,* p. 85.

regular intervals.[22] In 1748 the Vestry set apart a piece of land and proceeded to build on it a schoolhouse for the Charity School.[23] Up to this time the masters had provided their own quarters for the pupils, probably in their homes; for a short time Mr. Huddlestone had the use of the City Hall. The building erected in 1748 was of brick, fifty feet long and twenty-three feet wide, two stories high; it had a cupola, and a wing eighteen feet square. It was put into use in November, 1749; three months later this new school building was destroyed by fire.[24] The Vestry replaced it at once. The excitement attending the destruction of the new building and its immediate replacement seems to have touched the hearts of charitable persons; donations and legacies for the school came in plentifully.[25] One bequest, that of Mrs. Anne Chambers,[26] deserves especial mention because it was designated for the benefit of girls at the Charity School. Six girls had enrolled in 1716, since which time there were always some girls at the school.[27] A report of Mr. Hildreth, schoolmaster, written on May 29, 1764, notes an enrollment at the school of forty-eight boys and twenty-four girls. "The boys regularly attend the school hours and the girls in the afternoon learn to write, being the rest of the day under the care of a schoolmistress." In the year from Lady Day, 1763, to Lady Day, 1764, eight boys and five girls "have been put out apprentices."[28] The curriculum for boys was reading, writing and arithmetic.[29] In 1768 Trinity Church converted the school building into a rectory and put up for the school tem-

[22] Kemp, *op. cit.*, pp. 91, 98, 103.
[23] Berrian, *Hist. of Trinity Church*, p. 90; Kemp, *op. cit.*, p. 108.
[24] Kemp, *Support of Schools in Col. N. Y. by S. P. G.*, pp. 90, 107-109.
[25] Berrian, *Hist. of Trinity Ch.*, pp. 91 ff.
[26] *Cf.* Kemp, *op. cit.*, p. 104, note 168; Berrian, *op. cit.*, p. 95.
[27] Kemp, *op. cit.*, p. 88.
[28] *Abstract of S. P. G. Proceedings*, 1765, p. 73.
[29] *Ibid.*, 1766, p. 28. Religious instruction by means of Bible and Catechism, and the saying of prayers, must be taken for granted. Charity children received careful training in these matters.

porary quarters back of the church,[30] which were burned down in 1776.[31]

In the year 1735, or soon afterward, a charity school for ten poor boys was established in Bristol, Rhode Island, and a similar school in Newport, on funds bequeathed by Nathaniel Kay.[32]

An account of Bethesda "College," some nine miles out from Savannah, Georgia, acquaints us with the charitable and educational side of the great preacher Whitefield. Arriving in Georgia as a missionary of the S. P. G. in 1738, he conceived the idea of founding an orphanage there, and went back to England to raise money for it. Returning with more than a thousand pounds and a grant from the Trustees of the Colony of Georgia of five hundred acres of land, he himself laid the first brick in his orphanage building on Lady Day, Tuesday, March 25, 1740.[33] At the time he was paying rent for a house in which he sheltered forty children. With the completion of the new quarters, this number increased considerably. Whitefield labored for his children year after year, and finally, in 1764, applied for a college charter, which the Governor and Council of Georgia refused. Upon Whitefield's death, in 1770, the institution began to decline; it barely survived the Revolution, and passed away soon afterward.[34]

Religion was an important feature of the training at Bethesda. Called at sunrise, the children sang a hymn and had private prayers. Then came public worship, consisting of prayers, Bible reading and the singing of a Psalm. Then they had their breakfast, after which they went, "some to their

[30] Kemp, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

[31] Berrian, *op. cit.*, pp. 144, 145.

[32] Updike, *History of the Narragansett Church*, pp. 397, 436, 445, 473.

[33] Gillies, *Memoir of Whitefield*, pp. 31-34, 36, 44, 48.

[34] Jones, *Education in Georgia*, pp. 12-15. In 1747 Whitefield bought a plantation of 640 acres in South Carolina, the profits of which he applied to the support of Bethesda.

trades, and the rest to their prayers and schools." A hymn came before dinner and another one afterward. The afternoon passed in school work and recreation. At sunset time there were public devotions like those of the morning. "After that they sup, and are attended to bed by one of their teachers, who then pray with them, as they often do privately. On the sabbath day, they all dine on cold meat provided the day before, that none may be kept from public worship, which is attended four times a day in summer and three in winter. The children are kept reading between whiles."[35]

The colleges in New York and in Philadelphia opened up under strong Church influence. The latter, with Dr. William Smith at its head, expanded steadily during the later colonial period.[36] In New York, King's College, under Dr. Samuel Johnson, opened its doors to ten students on July 17, 1754.[37] The charter, dated October 31, 1754, named the college "King's," and appointed as governors the Archbishop of Canterbury, several government officers, including the Lieutenant-Governor of the province, the Rector of Trinity Church, New York, and the ministers of several New York churches of other denominations.[38] Great impetus to the institution came through Trinity Church's gift of a valuable piece of land.[39] The ascending influence of Church of England people caused "bitter clamour" among the enemies of that Church. Their opposition resulted in some changes in the original plans for the college; but, to use Dr. Johnson's words of long ago, the charter "still provides that the President be always of the Church of England, and

[35] Letter of "a visitor from Boston," quoted in Perry, *History of the American Episcopal Church*, I, p. 354.

[36] *Cf.* Smith, H. W., *Life of Wm. Smith*, vol. I, *passim*.

[37] Beardsley, *Life of Johnson*, p. 194. They met in the schoolhouse belonging to Trinity Church.

[38] Hist. Sketch of Columbia College, in *Statutes of Col. Coll.*, 1836, p. 5.

[39] Berrian, *Hist. of Trinity Ch.*, p. 105; Beardsley, *Life of Johnson*, p. 189. Berrian says that in 1847 the land was valued at $400,000.

that the prayers of the Church, and no other be used, only a short collect for the college."[40]

In these institutions we have glimpses of the various features of colonial education. Of course, Church control is evident; we behold the minister teaching school, and the schoolmaster teaching the Church Catechism. Catechetical exercises were the formal teaching activities of the Church and were usually undertaken in the church building; but, as we have observed, sometimes they took place in the home and often in the school. We notice, too, the supremacy of the classics. Another feature was the charity schools, which, by reaching out in charity to embrace *some* of the poor children of the time in the scheme of education, helped to prepare the way for the later inclusion of such children as of right, with all the others. Now if these institutions as presented seem to be crude, we should remember that we are dealing with simple life in a dependent country, before the days of telephones and big cities and railroads,—at a time when other processes, like farming and trading, for example, were also untouched by progressive ideas and equally innocent of inventions making for efficiency.

B. *SOME COLONIAL SCHOOLMASTERS*

The first report of the S. P. G., issued in 1704, throws considerable light on educational matters in the early days of the colonies. In New York there were "no schoolmasters yet established." Albany wanted a schoolmaster; so did New York City; in the five Dutch and the five English counties of New York, it was expected that schoolmasters would "suddenly" be established. "RODE-ISLAND, belonging to New York," desired a schoolmaster. In all the New England provinces there were

[40] Letter, Dr. Johnson to Bishop Sherlock, May 7, 1755, in *Churchman's Magazine*, 1811, pp. 184, 185. The objections of Presbyterians became very insistent. Beardsley, *Life of Johnson*, pp. 191 ff., gives a good account of the active opposition to Church of England influence at the college.

Church of England congregations only in Boston and in Braintree; more ministers were requested, but no schoolmasters. In New Jersey neither church nor school had been established "by act of Assembly, either in the eight English towns or two Dutch." Here, too, only ministers were demanded; there were no requests for schoolmasters. Chester, Pennsylvania, wanted a minister, "with a dependent school." Philadelphia already had a schoolmaster, with a salary of thirty pounds granted by the Crown; another master might come there, for the sum of £32 6s. 8d. had been appropriated by the S. P. G. for "a patent for the minister and schoolmaster" in Philadelphia. Maryland wanted "many schools." For Carolina (North and South) three schoolmasters were requested. Mr. Samuel Thomas, who had come to instruct the Yammonsea Indians, found the circumstances unfavorable, so his work was "respited for some time"; instead of teaching these Indians, he turned to the instruction of negroes at Goose Creek.[41]

When schoolmasters entered the employ of the S. P. G., they received definite instructions, the substance of which is as follows:

1. Instruct and dispose children "to live as Christians."
2. Teach them to read the Holy Scriptures "and other pious and useful Books."
3. Give thorough instruction in the Church Catechism.
4. Teach writing and arithmetic.
5. Be industrious and regular at school.
6. Pray with the children morning and evening, and teach them prayers and graces.
7. See that scholars attend church on Sundays, both morning and afternoon, and on other days of worship. Have them carry along their Bibles and Prayer Books and show them how to

[41] *First Report of S. P. G.*, 1704, pp. 10-15, 20. The unfavorable circumstances among the Yammonsea Indians were caused by a war with the Spaniards, in which the tribe was then engaged.

N° II.

Notitia Parochialis: Or, An Account to be sent Home every Six Months to the *Society* by each Minister, concerning the Spiritual State of their respective Parishes.

I. *Number of Inhabitants.*	
II. *No. of the Baptized.*	
III. *No. of Adult Persons Baptized this Half Year.*	
IV. *No. of Actual Communicants of the Church of England.*	
V. *No. of those who profess themselves of the Church of England.*	
VI. *No. of Dissenters of all Sorts, particularly Papists.*	
VII. *No. of Heathens and Infidels.*	

Instructions for Schoolmasters Employ'd by the Society, &c.

I. THAT they well consider the End for which they are employ'd by the Society, *viz.* the instructing and disposing Children, to believe and live as Christians.

II. In order to this End, that they teach them to read truly and distinctly, that they may be capable of reading the Holy Scriptures, and other pious and useful Books; for informing their Understandings, and regulating their Manners.

III. That they instruct them throughly in the Church-Catechism, teach them first to read it distinctly and exactly, then to learn it perfectly by Heart, endeavouring to make them understand the Sense and Meaning of it, by the Help of such Expositions, as the Society shall send over.

IV. That they teach them to Write a plain and legible Hand, in order to the fitting them for useful Employments; with as much Arithmetick as shall be necessary to the same Purpose.

V. That they be industrious, and give constant Attendance at proper School-Hours.

VI. That

A minister's report blank and a page of *Instructions for Schoolmasters*, reproduced from the Collection of Papers of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, printed in 1712.

use them and also how to act during the service. Afterward examine them as to what they have heard and learned.

8. Recommend to the minister scholars who are fit for public catechizing.
9. Teach manners and morals, and especially respect for the minister of the parish.
10. Rule by love rather than by fear.
11. Consult often with the minister about the management of the school.
12. Be an example of piety and virtue.
13. Be ready to teach the Indians and the negroes.
14. Report to the Secretary every six months.[42]

By the time the society was well established it had eleven schoolmasters and two catechists at work in the colonies, at salaries of fifty pounds a year for the latter and from ten to thirty pounds for the former.[43] These numbers and the salaries remained about the same until the Revolution stopped the labors of the S. P. G. in the territory which was fighting for independence.

Cubberley's belief in the general excellence of the schoolmasters of the S. P. G.[44] is well warranted. When Mr. Thomas Tomlinson opened a school at Newbern, North Carolina, and was recommended to the society as a scholarly man "of Sobriety and prudent Conduct" as well as a good scholar, the society added his name to its list of masters, at a salary of ten pounds a year. When he complained, a few years later, of ill treatment at the hands of the trustees of the school, Governor Martin himself wrote a good word for him and the society voted him a gratuity of fifteen pounds, "which is equal to one year's salary." In 1772 the S. P. G. voted a gratuity of ten pounds to Thomas Craven, in recognition of his long and faithful services as schoolmaster; the society had just made a similar grant to Mr.

[42] *Collection of S. P. G. Papers*, 1712, pp. 29 ff.
[43] *Abstract of S. P. G. Proceedings*, 1726-1727, pp. 50-52.
[44] Cubberley, *Pub. Ed. in the U. S.*, p. 34.

Uzal Ogden, Catechist in Suffolk County, New Jersey, for industry and zeal in duty. In the reports of missionaries there are some recommendations of schoolmasters. The Rev. Mr. Colgan, of Jamaica, Long Island, certified to the character of Mr. Willet, schoolmaster.[45] Mr. Jenney, Rector at Hempstead, near by, vouched for Mr. Thomas Temple as a worthy successor of Mr. Gildersleve, deceased.[46] Ministers' commendations are recorded for Mr. Charles Fortesque, the proposed successor of Mr. Houston, schoolmaster at Chester, Pennsylvania; for Mr. Egbert, on Staten Island;[47] and for a Mr. Bennett, who, now that he had come into "conformity to our Church," would make a good schoolmaster for Stratford, Connecticut.[48]

Of course, there was the proverbial black sheep. A very clear account of one comes from Burlington, New Jersey. The missionary there, Mr. Weyman, wrote a letter to the society, dated October 5, 1737, asserting that he could not endorse Mr. Ellis, the society's schoolmaster at Burlington. Mr. Ellis had "by no means performed his Duty, but run on in such a Course of Idleness, that he had not sometimes, for six Months together, so much as the appearance of a School." Mr. Ellis was dismissed.[49] His "Idleness" was plainly inexcusable, but a possible factor in the case had been recorded more than twenty years before his collapse. A Quaker schoolmaster had started up a rival school which weakened that of Mr. Ellis. "Poor Mr. Ellis, the schoolmaster," wrote John Talbot in 1715, "is very much discouraged in his business by a Quaker Schoolmaster being set up, in opposition to his license; he has made his complaints oft, not without cause, but without effect."[50] If these Quaker suc-

[45] *Abstract of S. P. G. Proceedings,* 1764-1765, p. 88; 1772-1773, pp. 30, 33; 1738-1739, p. 48.

[46] Moore, *Hist. St. George's Ch., Hempstead,* p. 70.

[47] *Abstract of S. P. G. Proceedings,* 1741-1742, p. 51; 1764-1765, p. 67.

[48] Hawks and Perry, *Conn.,* I, pp. 120, 121.

[49] *Abstract of S. P. G. Proceedings,* 1738-1739, p. 52.

[50] Letter, Nov. 1, 1715, John Talbot to the Secretary of the S. P. G., in *P. E. Hist. Coll.,* 1851, p. 77. When Ellis went to Burlington, he found another

cesses continued, Mr. Ellis's discouragements must have persisted until he lost his moral grip and practically gave up the fight.

It must not be supposed that all the teachers in those early days were authorized and paid from London. Mr. Tomlinson, we just saw, in Newbern, North Carolina, started his school first and then afterward got his commission from the S. P. G. When the parishioners at Goose Creek, South Carolina, bound themselves to the amount of two hundred pounds sterling for a schoolhouse, it was on condition that they should be allowed to choose three Visitors to the school; to remove, through the Vestry, an unfit master; and also to appoint a substitute whenever the necessity should arise.[51] About the year 1728, the Rev. Robert Jenney wrote from Hempstead, Long Island, concerning the instability of schoolmasters, "except those from the honorable Society," under his observation. The custom, he explained, was "for a set of neighbors to engage a schoolmaster for one year." Payment was by subscription,—"£20 with diet or £30 without. But," he added, "Mr. Gildersleeve [the S. P. G. schoolmaster in Hempstead] has five shillings per quarter for each scholar."[52]

Masters at the four schools connected with the College of William and Mary worked under definite rules, which, in substance, were:

I. Masters must attend "Day by Day" [*i.e.*, regularly].
II. They must maintain strict discipline.
III. [The third regulation concerns repairs.]
IV. Masters and ushers must provide "Firing and Candles for their

schoolmaster there, who made considerable trouble until Ellis showed him his S. P. G. commission to teach (Letter, May 20, 1714, Ellis to Sec. of S. P. G. in Hills, *Hist. of Ch. in Burlington*, pp. 114-116).

[51] *Abstract of S. P. G. Proceedings*, 1765-1766, pp. 39, 40.

[52] Letter to S. P. G., quoted by Moore, *Hist. St. George's Ch., Hempstead*, p. 58.

chambers" at their own expense, and pay 50s. a year for washing.

V. Masters who desire hot suppers must provide them at their own expense.

VI. Only one sort of bread to be used by Masters and Scholars.

VII. A master or the usher must always be present with the boys at Breakfast and Supper.[53]

If the rule of the S. P. G. requiring deacon's orders of all schoolmasters had not fallen into disuse,[54] the ministerial and the teaching functions would have been almost entirely blended. As it was, the distinction was not very sharp. In the absence of a minister at Oxford, Philadelphia, Mr. Nathaniel Walton, the schoolmaster, kept up the services on every Lord's Day.[55] At Rye, New York, after Mr. Wetmore, the minister, died, there were no sermons or sacraments until his son, the schoolmaster, consented to read the service "every Lord's Day." The Rev. Mr. Durand, missionary in St. John's Parish, Berkeley County, South Carolina, reported that poor settlers twenty-five miles away allowed the schoolmasters "a small salary to read to them on Sundays the Liturgy and Sermons." Governor Dobbs, of North Carolina, looking toward the improvement of the province, regretted that there was not even a parish clerk in the province "to serve as a Schoolmaster, or occasional Reader where Clergymen are wanting."[56]

On the other hand, as was to be expected, ministers sometimes extended their activities to the schoolroom. The Rev. John Eversfield, Bishop Claggett's uncle, did some extra work of teaching at his home.[57] A more formal combination of the

[53] Regulations, in *Charter, Transfer and Statutes of the Coll. of Wm. and Mary,* pp. 160, 161.

[54] *Cf.* Pascoe, *Class. Digest of S. P. G. Records,* p. 845.

[55] Perry, *Hist. Papers, Pa.,* p. 115.

[56] *Abstract of S. P. G. Proceedings,* 1761-1762, pp. 50, 51; 1764-1765, p. 89; 1762-1763, pp. 73, 74.

[57] Utley, *Life of Claggett,* p. 13.

two positions is seen in the proposition of the Vestry of Augusta, Georgia; they wanted a minister-schoolmaster, and planned to support him well by combining the salary available for a minister with the £23 6s. 8d. which was allowed "out of the Money annually granted by Parliament to the Province of *Georgia* for a Schoolmaster in that Place."[58] Sometimes the office of schoolmaster was a sort of stepping-stone to ordination. The Rev. Henry Caner, when he was missionary at Fairfield, Connecticut, recommended for ordination his brother Richard, who had been schoolmaster-helper to him.[59] John Moore, upon graduation from Yale, probably in 1742, was recommended for ordination and appointed master at the school in Jamaica, Long Island.[60] Before coming to Hempstead, Long Island, as Rector of St. George's Church, Mr. Jenney had been schoolmaster for some time in Christ Church Parish, Philadelphia.[61]

Mr. Jenney's successor at Hempstead was Samuel Seabury, father of the future Bishop Seabury. The following tells its own story:

A CARD.—The Rev. Mr. Samuel Seabury, of Hempstead, in order to enlarge his school, has engaged a young gentleman as usher, who is candidate for orders. Mr. S. will entertain young gentlemen at his own house in a genteel manner at £30 per year, schooling, washing and wood for school-fire included. March 27th, 1762.[62]

Fortunately we have some word pictures of the colonial schoolmaster in action. When Mr. Andrew Wright went to Staten Island to succeed Mr. Taylor as schoolmaster there, his commission was "to instruct the poor white and black children also, . . . gratis, in the principles of Christianity and to read the Bible and the Common Prayer Book."[60] Some years before

[58] *Abstract of S. P. G. Proceedings*, 1763-1764, p. 97.
[59] *Ibid.*, 1741-1742, p. 42.
[60] *Ibid.*, 1742-1743, pp. 47, 48.
[61] Moore, *Hist. St. George's Ch., Hempstead*, p. 44.
[62] *N. Y. Mercury*, 1762 (March 27), quoted by Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

this (*i.e.*, in 1716) Mr. William Huddlestone, schoolmaster in New York, wrote back to headquarters a description of his school work. First came reading and writing; then at eleven o'clock

> the bell rings them to prayers, where they daily appear to the great growth of the Church—In the afternoon they spell, read, write & cypher from 1 to 5, when they read the Psalms for the day, & every one answers that can read—then they sing a staff or two of the Psalms they have just read—thus ends the day.

Thrice weekly he taught the Catechism and on Sundays "graces and prayers by heart." After prayers and sermons on Sundays the pupils returned to the school, where "they that could read" repeated the texts and proofs of the day's sermons. The first class then had "a chapter or two out of Lewis's Explanation"[63] and the rest repeated the regular Catechism. "After prayers and Psalms sung" he dismissed them.[64]

Although what Mr. Rowland Jones wrote is in the same vein, it is interesting enough to quote at some length. Describing his work in Chester, Pennsylvania, he said:

> When they get the Primer pretty well . . . we have some Psalters with the Proverbs in at the latter end. I give them that to learn the which I take to be very agreeable and still follow repetitions till I find they are masters of such places. Then I move them, into such places as I judge they are fit for either in the new or Old Testament and as I find they advance I move them not regarding the beginning nor ending of the Bible but moving them where I think they may have benefit by. So making of them perfect in their vowels, consonants and dipthongs, and when they go on their reading clean without any noising, singing or stumbling, with deliberate way, then I set them to begin the Bible, in order to go throughout.

[63] This was an extensively used explanation of the Catechism, written by John Lewis. It is described below, pp. 75-77.

[64] *S. P. G. Letter Book*, A, 12, p. 244; quoted by Kemp, *op. cit.*, p. 268.

In their writing lessons some wrote verses "on their duty to parents" and some "on behaviour. . . . When they come to manage double copies readily I give them some delightful sentences or Proverbs or some places in the Psalms or any part of the Bible." One girl "had a great many parts in the Bible by heart and had the whole book of St. John and hardly would miss a word." Twice a week they had spelling and Catechism. "I catechize," he said, "every Saturday and often on Thursday. Sometimes I set them to sing Psalms."[65]

Another description, briefer but in the same religious spirit, came from Mr. Rowland Ellis, the society's schoolmaster at Burlington, New Jersey. On Sundays, in the church, and three times during the week, he catechized the children "that are of the Church." At eleven o'clock every day they went to church, —"all but the Quakers."[66] Rowland Jones also had some Quakers in his school; the children of Quaker parents studied the Creed, the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments. In this they did "as well as the Church people's children."

When Mr. Jones "set" his children "to sing Psalms" he was doing what other schoolmasters probably did when they had the ability or the opportunity, or both. In New York, the Catechist, Mr. Charlton, had the opportunity. In 1741 he had more than one hundred and fifty catechumens under instruction; forty-three of them were learning psalmody with Mr. Clemm, the organist of Trinity Church, for which purpose they were "thrice a week in the Church."[67]

If any word, in addition to what has been said, were necessary to suggest how important the schoolmaster was to the people of those days, one could mention again Governor Dobbs's hope of improving North Carolina by means of ministers *and schoolmasters*. The Rev. Samuel Johnson's letter to

[65] Perry, *Hist. Papers, Pa.*, pp. 169, 170.
[66] *S. P. G. Journal*, III, p. 156; quoted by Kemp, *op. cit.*, p. 268.
[67] *Abstract of S. P. G. Proceedings*, 1741-1742, p. 46.

the Secretary of the S. P. G. (written October 23, 1727) closes with the assurance that the Church would be well served "by begetting in the tender minds of children a sense of the excellency of our holy religion."[68] The S. P. G. "Strained themselves to settle a Catechist and Schoolmaster at New York"; the church there was "so well settled" that it did not require help in maintaining public worship, but the society regarded these two kinds of teachers as important enough to warrant the ill-afforded outlay.[69]

Recollection of the fact that colonial education was under religious auspices makes two things about schoolmasters easier to understand,—the generally good character of colonial schoolmasters, and the interchangeable functions of minister and schoolmaster. Schoolmasters were chosen partly because of their religious qualifications, and were consciously trained for their semiconsecrated occupation. Moreover, in their school duties they were somewhat firmly bound to the ministers. For instance, they must not only teach the Catechism and piety in general, but they must also see to the children's attendance at church on Sundays, carrying Bibles and Prayer Books; they must discover and recommend to the minister fit candidates for catechizing; they must teach respect for the minister, and, furthermore, confer with the minister on matters of school administration.[70] With such an interlocking system, there is no surprise upon reading about the desire for a combination minister-schoolmaster in Augusta, Georgia, or of ministers keeping school in their own houses, as Samuel Seabury did in Hempstead, Long Island, or of schoolmasters conducting services, as did Mr. Nathaniel Walton in Oxford, Pennsylvania.[71] There is a further fact to be remembered. The ministers were the edu-

[68] Hawks and Perry, *Conn.*, I, p. 121.

[69] *Abstract of S. P. G. Proceedings*, 1738-1739, p. 48.

[70] Instructions to Schoolmasters, in *Coll. of S. P. G. Papers*, 1712, pp. 29 ff. A summary of these instructions appears above, pp. 28, 29.

[71] Perry, *Hist. Papers, Pa.*, p. 115.

cated people of the time; the professional schoolmasters, although usually less so, were still much better educated than the average man. It seems a pity that their schoolroom work was so inefficient. School buildings were crude affairs, and poorly equipped. Although school hours were long, the master wasted much of his time in hearing individual recitations, in sharpening quill pens, and in actively maintaining strict discipline without the aid of good teaching methods.[72]

[72] Cubberley, *Public Education in the U. S.*, pp. 35-37, discusses these points more in detail.

IV.

CATECHIZATION AS THE FUNDAMENTAL METHOD OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

CATECHIZATION was a form of oral instruction by means of questions and answers. This method of religious education was adopted in the early days of Christianity, and received fresh impetus when the Reformation affirmed new foundations for religion. Luther's Catechisms followed up the Reformation movement in Germany with homely and practical religious teachings for the people. Later the pious Heidelberg Catechism taught the way of salvation to the followers of the Reformed Churches on the continent, and later still the use of the logical Westminster Catechism began to spread from Scotland to other English-speaking people. Meanwhile, however, the Church of England had put a Catechism, shorter than any of these, into its official Prayer Book as an instruction preparatory to Confirmation. The first part of the Catechism, without the section of questions and answers about the Sacraments, appeared in the Prayer Book of 1549; the last part, referring to the Sacraments, was not added until 1604. The Savoy conference, in 1661, made a few verbal changes in the Catechism, took it out of the Confirmation service, of which it had formed a part, and gave it a place by itself in the Prayer Book.[1] This was the Catechism so much used in colonial days.

The Anglican Catechism began, not with the first question, but with the child. Long, long before the "point of contact" was considered a pedagogical necessity, this Catechism met the child on the common ground of its Christian name. "What is your name?" the first question asked; the answer "N" or "M,"

[1] Robinson, *The Church Catechism Explained*, pp. 4, 5.

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meaning "Name" or "Names" as the case might be, was an approach simple enough, but it led on to the fact developed by the next question and answer, that the very name was bestowed through the Sacrament of Baptism in the Church. In the third answer the child acknowledged that its Sponsors in Baptism had promised on its behalf the religious duties of renunciation, faith and obedience. Then the fourth question, "Dost thou not think that thou art bound to believe and to do as they have promised for thee?" brought the child face to face with the matter of personal moral responsibility, as was fitting in a manual of preparation for Confirmation. After that question, the Catechism concerned itself with the required knowledge of the Creed, the Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer, followed by the questions and answers added in 1604 about the generally necessary Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

In what has been said already, the importance attached to catechetical work in colonial days must be evident. The first educational venture of the S. P. G. was the sending of a Catechist to New York City. The S. P. G. required of schoolmasters the ability to teach the Catechism. Among the instructions printed for the guidance of these masters is one calling for thorough drill in the Church Catechism.[2] In the reports of the S. P. G. there are constant references to sending Catechisms to schoolmasters in America. Mr. Keeble, schoolmaster at Oyster Bay, wrote, November 14, 1737, that "he hath received the Society's Present of Catechisms and returns his humble thanks." Mr. Noxon, schoolmaster at New York, received forty-eight "stitched Catechisms." Another master in New York, Mr. Hildreth, twenty-five years later, wrote for some Lewis's Catechisms, which were sent. Mr. George Taylor, schoolmaster at Providence, reported (October 18, 1737) cate-

[2] *S. P. G. Papers*, 1712, p. 29.

chizing his twenty-five children on Wednesdays and Saturdays; on Sundays he explained to them the principles of religion.[3]

Ministers relied on catechization for the instruction of future Church members. Very early in the eighteenth century, the Rev. John Thomas, of St. George's Church, Hempstead, Long Island, complained of the difficulty of preaching "the superstructures of Christianity" to people who had not been educated in the "groundworks and fundamentals of religion." He told of starting a school and beginning to build a schoolhouse. But two years later he wrote that he could not catechize "for want of a schoolmaster to teach children to read." His successor, the Rev. Robert Jenney, catechized and read lectures on the Catechism every Sunday afternoon. Years afterward, the Rev. Leonard Cutting expressed his disappointment that the catechumens in Hempstead were so few compared with the size of the parish. He proposed to have catechization at evening gatherings in various houses.[4]

Before coming to Hempstead, Mr. Cutting had catechized the children of Brunswick and Piscataqua, New Jersey, every Sunday.[5] When John Wesley was a missionary in Georgia, where he arrived in February, 1736, he regarded catechetical work as part of his duty.[6] From the same decade come reports of catechizing in St. Andrew's Parish, South Carolina, by the Rev. Mr. Guy; and in Chester, Pennsylvania, by the Rev. Mr. Backhouse. In the sixties there were such reports as that of the Rev. Mr. Treadwell, missionary at Trenton, New Jersey, who "delivers catechetical lectures to children," and that of the Rev. Mr. Barton, missionary at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, who never neglected the instruction of his young catechumens.[7]

[3] *Abstract of S. P. G. Proceedings,* 1738-1739, pp. 48, 49, 43; 1763-1764, p. 81.

[4] Moore, *Hist. of St. George's Ch., Hempstead,* pp. 33, 37, 59, 117; sections of various letters reprinted.

[5] *Abstract of S. P. G. Proceedings,* 1764-1765, p. 78.

[6] Pascoe, *Class. Digest of S. P. G. Records,* p. 27.

[7] *Abstract of S. P. G. Proceedings,* 1733-1734, p. 47; 1737-1738, p. 43; 1763-1764, p. 86; 1765-1766, p. 34.

There are numerous other similar references showing that the clergy instructed youth by the catechetical method.

Closer inspection of some of the material at hand yields a few details as to the time of catechizing. Wesley did it "on Sundays after the second lesson."[8] Mr. Guy did it on "Wednesdays in Lent, with Catechetical sermons on Sundays." The Rev. Mr. Howie, minister at Oxford, Pennsylvania, reported (May 20, 1738) that "he examines the children every Lord's Day in the Church Catechism." The same year the Rev. Mr. Fordyce wrote from Prince Frederick's Parish, South Carolina, that he catechized "on *Sundays* in *Lent*" and read lectures on the Catechism "on other *Sundays* (except in the excessive Heats) throughout the Year." Sunday afternoon was the time of catechizing by the Rev. Mr. MacKean, missionary at Amboy and Woodbridge, New Jersey, and by the Rev. Mr. Ross at Newcastle, Pennsylvania. When Mr. Barton, minister at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, catechized at Caernarvon, it was in the evening.[9]

Of course, all this was long before the existence of Sunday Schools. As we have seen, the Church controlled what formal school teaching there was, and surrounded schools with an atmosphere of religion. The Catechism really consisted of the material required to be learned in preparation for Confirmation, but considering the fact that Confirmation was not administered in the colonies,[10] the Catechism was used much more than one ordinarily might expect. As a matter of fact, however, it was looked on as a compendium of fundamental Church knowledge and therefore valuable for all who would claim the privileges of the Church. Moreover, the Prayer Book required it,[11] and

[8] Pascoe, *Class. Digest of S. P. G. Records*, p. 27.

[9] *Abstract of S. P. G. Proceedings*, 1733-1734, p. 47; 1738-1739, pp. 56, 61; 1764-1765, pp. 74, 79; 1767-1768, p. 60.

[10] Second Pastoral Letter, 1811, in Bioren reprint of *Gen. Conv. Jour.*, 1817, p. 367, says that Confirmation, "until within these few years, was unknown in this country."

[11] *Cf.* subtitle of the Catechism and the rubrics at the end of the Catechism,

the S. P. G. insisted on its general use.[12] Since the Reformation, religion had been taught by the catechetical method. Such great Catechisms as that of Luther, and the Heidelberg and Westminster Catechisms, as well as the Anglican, remind us of this fact. The question-and-answer method of these Catechisms is a reflection of the stern pedagogy that prevailed, and continued to prevail, until very recently, when teaching began to take into consideration the learner and the ways in which the human mind works, starting with those things rather than with bare materials and methods.

Michael claims that these catechetical efforts were "lamentably helpless." He gives three reasons for his belief: first, catechetical instructions were limited by the bounds of parish influences; secondly, they presupposed other instruction; and thirdly, clergy were scarce.[13] It is true that the field of catechization by the clergy lay within parish limits of influence. There was a great gulf fixed between the parish group and the people who were not Church members, beyond which the clerical voice could not be heard and Catechism truths failed to carry. Under the circumstances, the best that could be done was to train the children of the Church in these essential teachings. To be sure, catechetical work in the schools extended this teaching a little beyond parish limits, but only a little; the unprivileged people were hardly touched. The clergy were indeed scarce, and their paucity was by no means balanced by the comparatively few catechizing schoolmasters. On account of the scarcity of books and printed matter, some of even the best of parishioners could not catechize much at home. If they could not read, they were unable to catechize at all except from memory. Many must

in any English Prayer Book issued since 1661, the year the Catechism changes were made (*cf.* Robinson, *The Church Catechism Explained,* p. 5).

[12] *Cf. Coll. of S. P. G. Papers,* pp. 19, 24, 29, 30; showing that the S. P. G. required both ministers and schoolmasters to teach the Catechism.

[13] Michael, *The Sunday School in the Development of the American Church,* pp. 43, 53, 54.

have been in that condition, for the opportunities for schooling were very meager. What has been said about colonial schools only emphasizes the fact that they were oases in a rather large desert of ignorance. Michael's criticism, therefore, of the presupposition of other instruction preceding catechization touches a truly weak spot in the system. The case of Mr. Thomas, in Hempstead, Long Island, illustrates the weakness just mentioned,—efficient catechization requires ability to read, an ability rather scarce, except in New England, in colonial days.

V.

EFFORTS TOWARD THE RELIGIOUS EDUCATION OF INDIANS AND NEGROES

WE have seen that Indians were to be the first students in the ill-fated Henrico College in Virginia. Governor Spotswood, who came into office in Virginia in 1710, went personally among the Indians to get them to send their children to the College of William and Mary. He even established a preparatory school on the frontier (at his own expense) where Indian lads could be fitted for the college. The legacy of the Hon. Robert Boyle, which supported the Indian School at the College of William and Mary, has already been mentioned. In 1718 the Virginia Assembly passed a law granting a thousand pounds for the education of poor natives of the colony.[1]

From the first, the S. P. G. had "direct missions to the heathen." The colonies along the coast, "together with the negroes and with the Indian tribes who dwelt farther inland, constituted the principal mission field of the Society."[2] In the middle of the eighteenth century the society reported the instruction of "many thousands of Indians and Negroes."[3] A summary of the society's accomplishments, published in 1893, shows that the organization had ministered in the older colonies (now the United States) to six European races and to "Negroes, and over 14 Indian tribes."[4] The Rev. Dr. David Humphreys laid great stress on the duty of the society to labor among

[1] Hawks, *Va.*, pp. 82, 83.
[2] Pascoe, *Class. Digest of S. P. G. Records,* pp. xv, 9, 845.
[3] *Abstract of S. P. G. Proceedings,* 1753-1754, p. 32.
[4] Pascoe, *Class. Digest of S. P. G. Records,* Int., p. xiv.

negroes, and printed some addresses by the Bishop of London seriously advocating their instruction.[5]

There were about 1500 negro and Indian slaves in New York City in 1704,[6] when the first educational work of the S. P. G. was started by the opening of a Catechetical School for the Indian and negro slaves there.[7] Elias Neau (or Nau) was the Catechist. His first work was house-to-house visitation, but this proved to be so time-consuming that he decided to gather his pupils in the upper part of his own home. Masters would not allow their time for these things, so the slaves had to come in the late afternoon. This left too short a period of daylight,—and facilities for artificial lighting were scant. More than this, the people were tired and sleepy; they had to get up early the next morning for another day's toil.[8]

Some interesting accounts came from the South. In the middle of the eighteenth century, Mr. Ottolenghi, schoolmaster to negroes at Savannah, Georgia, reported that his catechumens were progressing; some of the masters claimed that "their slaves are grown much better than heretofore."[8]

From St. Andrew's Parish, South Carolina, the Rev. Mr. Guy announced, in 1734, a legacy of two hundred pounds from Mr. Thomas Rose, which the Wardens and Vestry had voted toward a school for "poor White and Negroe Children"; Mr. William Cattel had donated ground at Ashley River Ferry. From St. Helen's Parish, South Carolina, the Rev. Mr. Jones wrote, on June 4, 1737, that zeal for Christian education of negroes "meets with but a cold reception from them." A few years later Mr. Jones notified the S. P. G. headquarters in London that he had always instructed his negro boys and that he approved of the society's design of purchasing negroes and

[5] Humphreys, *Hist. Acc. of S. P. G.*, pp. 232, 250 ff. (Humphreys was Secretary of the S. P. G. from 1716 to 1739.)

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 236 ff.

[7] Pascoe, *Class. Digest of S. P. G. Records*, p. 769.

[8] *Abstract of S. P. G. Proceedings*, 1752-1753, p. 54; 1753-1754, p. 64.

fitting them for "the office of Schoolmasters to the young negroes in their several parishes."[9]

Mr. Jones was not the only one who approved of such a plan. In January, 1741, Commissary Garden of South Carolina purchased two negro boys to educate. One was fourteen years old and the other fifteen. Mr. Garden kept them under his own roof and sent them daily to school, where their progress was great. When purchased, he wrote, they could recite the Catechism, "but know not one letter of the alphabet." Under date of October 10, 1743, Mr. Garden wrote of building a schoolhouse and opening it in September; several negro children had started with the school, and the number had increased to thirty. On August 22, 1747, Mr. Garden wrote that the negro school at Charles-Town was full and that in the last two years forty children had been discharged capable of reading the Bible and well instructed in the Church Catechism; in the evenings many grown slaves attended the school. A few years after this, a violent tempest destroyed the building.[10]

Matters in North Carolina moved along more slowly. Late in the colonial period (March 29, 1764) Governor Arthur Dobbs notified the S. P. G. that there were "few or no schools" in the province and that a schoolmaster was needed for the Catawba Indians. The society assured the Governor of their readiness to encourage schoolmasters to settle in North Carolina. Meanwhile the Rev. Mr. Stewart, missionary at St. Thomas's, Bath Town, North Carolina, had found the Indians interested in education. "Dr. Bray's Associates"[11] had made

[9] *Abstract of S. P. G. Proceedings,* 1733-1734, p. 48; 1738-1739, p. 60; 1741-1742, pp. 55, 56.

[10] *Ibid.,* 1742-1743, p. 53; 1743-1744, pp. 53, 54; 1746-1747, p. 63; 1752-1753, pp. 53, 54.

[11] Dr. Thomas Bray has already been mentioned prominently as the leader in founding in England the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and the S. P. G., and as the founder of libraries in Maryland, where he was the Commissary of the Bishop of London, and in other places in the colonies. To extend the work of establishing and maintaining libraries and schools, he

him superintendent of their school in that province, and, at their expense, he had put in a schoolmistress to teach four Indians and two negro boys and four Indian girls, and had supplied the books for that purpose.[12]

Farther South, in Florida, were the Musquito Indians. In the year 1767 the S. P. G. appointed as Catechist to these Indians Mr. Christian Frederick Post, who had already been preaching for several years to both Indians and English there "in the *Musquito* Shore."[13]

The most important work with Indians in colonial days was that among the Mohawks in New York. On January 20, 1737, Mr. Barclay, having been ordained in England, was appointed missionary of the S. P. G. at Albany and to the Mohawk Indians. The son of a former missionary at Albany, he had learned the Mohawk language, so that he was recommended as one who could instruct and catechize the Mohawks in their own tongue. By 1742 he had appointed two "Mohock" schoolmasters, "viz. Cornelius, a Sachem at the lower and one Daniel at the Upper town, who are both very diligent and teach the young Mohocks with surprising success." After a few years of these fruitful activities Mr. Barclay accepted the rectorship of Trinity Church in New York City.[14] Some fifteen years after this, Mr. Cornelius Bennet decided to leave his position of master at Mr. Kay's Grammar School in Rhode Island and devote the rest of his life to the conversion of the "Mohock and other tribes of Indians." Recommended by the Rev. Dr. Johnson of Stratford, Connecticut, he received the society's appointment as Catechist to the Indians. By 1764 he had "a fine company of children under his care." The society's report for 1764-1765

organized "Dr. Bray's Associates," a society which continues to this day. In 1901, when Steiner's *Life of Bray* (*q.v.*, p. 7) was published, it was still supporting "clerical libraries in England and negro schools in the Colonies."

[12] *Abstract of S. P. G. Proceedings*, 1764-1765, pp. 84-86.

[13] *Ibid.*, 1767-1768, pp. 64, 65.

[14] *Ibid.*, 1738-1739, p. 50; 1742-1743, pp. 46, 47; 1746-1747, pp. 56, 57.

describes the work, which may, "by a Divine Blessing, soothe and mollify their fierce tempers." "They hear prayers morning and evening, learn to read English, are catechized in the Mohawk tongue, taught obedience to their parents, the observation of the Lord's Day, Respect to their Superiors, and a courteous behaviour to all." Mr. Bennet also visited the Indians in their sickness, which helped to "conciliate" them. Children came for instruction from a town as far away as thirty miles. A few years later, Mr. Colin M'Leland was the teacher of the Mohawks, with thirty children under instruction.[15]

The end of the colonial period saw Indian work spreading to other parts of New York State. In 1770 a Mr. Hall, a graduate of the college in Philadelphia, was asked to go to Canajoharie to learn the Indian language and become schoolmaster and Catechist there.[16] Although the school was "extremely promising, having 86 scholars in it," he would not accept this opportunity. At this time Mr. Edward Wall settled as schoolmaster at Johnstown, New York, and the Rev. Mr. William Andrews started a school at Schenectady. The former had forty "Indians and whites" under his instruction in 1770; two years later this number had increased to eighty-six. The latter catechized more than twenty negroes every Sunday.[17] The Rev. John Stuart, who arrived at Fort Hunter on December 2, 1770, as missionary to the Mohawks,[18] helped his work by keeping a young Indian with him as interpreter; but it was hard to make him stick to his task in the hunting season, so the S. P. G. voted him an annual salary of five pounds, which he was not to have unless he remained constant. Mr. Stuart had an Indian school, which was in good condition.[17]

Turning again to New York City, where the work of cate-

[15] *Abstract of S. P. G. Proceedings*, 1762-1763, pp. 64, 65; 1764-1765, p. 70; 1770-1771, p. 24.

[16] *Ibid.*, 1770-1771, p. 23.

[17] *Ibid.*, 1772-1773, pp. 25-28.

[18] Perry, *Hist. of P. E. Church.*, I, p. 333.

chizing Indians and negroes was the first educational venture of the S. P. G., in charge of Mr. Neau, we find that sometime during the year which ended February 16, 1727, the society granted fifty pounds "to Mrs. *Huddlestone,* widow of the late Mr. *Huddlestone,* Schoolmaster at *New York,* as a Reward for her late Husband's Services, in Catechizing the Indians and Negroes after the Death of Mr. *Neau,* the Society's Catechist there." In the same report we read that the Rev. Mr. Colgan was then Catechist at New York, with from thirty to fifty catechumens in attendance. Ten years later the Rev. Mr. Charlton, Catechist at New York, sent for Prayer Books and Catechisms for "those negroes who are able to read." He put his white catechumens in with his black because "the plain and easy exposition of the Church Catechism made to the blacks suits best also with the uncultivated Genius of the whites."[19]

Another successful Catechist to negroes in New York was Samuel Auchmuty, who took Mr. Charlton's place in 1746. He gave catechetical lectures every Friday afternoon "at the new church," for both whites and blacks; for purposes of study he divided the blacks into two classes, one of which learned the Catechism itself, and one used *Lewis's Exposition of the Church Catechism.* As time went on, his black catechumens increased in numbers. On the nineteenth of September, 1761, he wrote of still further additions from the negro school which opened September 22, 1760, "at the Expence of the Associates of Dr. Bray"; this school soon reached its limit of thirty, and had to turn away applicants. In 1762 Mr. Auchmuty had from sixty to seventy negro catechumens, adults and children, under his charge; they learned the regular Church Catechism and also *Lewis's Exposition.* By another year the number of his catechumens was still greater; fifteen of them were adults. From the midst of these numerical successes, he was called to succeed

[19] *Abstract of S. P. G. Proceedings,* 1726-1727, pp. 38, 42; 1737-1738, p. 41; 1753-1754, p. 53.

the Rev. Dr. Barclay as Rector of Trinity Church, New York. Meanwhile, on Sunday afternoons Mr. Hildreth, the schoolmaster at New York, was teaching a number of negro catechumens to "sing the Psalm Tunes." After Dr. Auchmuty became Rector of Trinity Church, New York, Mr. Hildreth succeeded him as Catechist and worked under his inspection.[20]

In Philadelphia the number of negroes had increased enough by 1746 to induce the S. P. G. to send the Rev. Mr. Sturgeon as Catechist for them. From Lancaster, Pennsylvania, through the Rev. Mr. Barton, missionary there, came a proposition (dated November 10, 1766) that the S. P. G. set up three Indian schools,—one on the Mohawk River, one at Fort Pitt, and one in the back parts of South Carolina. Each school was to have ten boys; each school, including "Dieting, Lodging, and Cloathing of the Children, and the School-Master's Salary, will cost 150l. per an." The society authorized only one school, that on the Mohawk River. In 1772 Joseph Rathell, schoolmaster at Lancaster, reported teaching several negroes, on Sunday evenings, the Catechism and the duties of religion and morality.[21]

In Hempstead, on Long Island, the negroes were so scattered, the Rev. Robert Jenney wrote, about 1720, that it was impossible for him to instruct them and almost impossible to get the masters and mistresses to do so. A Mr. Clowes helped the situation a little by catechizing some negroes on Sunday evenings during the winter.[22] In Fairfield, Connecticut, James Labarie taught Indians in his own house as early as 1722; some he had trained as instructors to the others.[23] In the next state, Rhode Island, the Rev. Marmaduke Brown wrote from Newport on

[20] *Abstract of S. P. G. Proceedings,* 1746-1747, p. 59; 1753-1754, p. 55; 1761-1762, pp. 53, 54; 1762-1763, p. 66; 1763-1764, p. 81; 1764-1765, p. 72; 1765-1766, p. 28; 1770-1771, pp. 24, 25.

[21] *Abstract of S. P. G. Proceedings,* 1746-1747, p. 60; 1767-1768, pp. 58, 59; 1772-1773, p. 31.

[22] Letter, quoted by Moore, *Hist. St. George's Ch., Hempstead,* p. 58.

[23] Hawks and Perry, *Conn.,* I, pp. 83, 84 (letter to S. P. G., March 5, 1722/23).

January 9, 1763, that "at the Instance of the Associates of the late Dr. Bray" he had opened a school for fifteen negro children of each sex; he hoped that the school would "answer the Intentions of the charitable Persons concerned in it."[24] The Rev. Dr. MacSparren, missionary at Narragansett and Warwick, began catechetical work with negroes in 1741; he had more than fifty negro slaves in attendance on Sunday mornings, when he spent "one hour immediately preceding divine service in catechizing and instructing those poor wretches." More than twenty years later the Rev. Mr. Fayerweather was at the Narragansett missionary post; he supplied "Psalters, Primers and Spelling Books" for Mr. Bennet's teaching work among the Narragansett Indians. This is the same Mr. Cornelius Bennet who gave up his master's position at Mr. Kay's Grammar School in Newport in order to devote his life to work among the Indians. We left him with the Mohawks, but when an epidemic of smallpox broke out among them he came to serve temporarily as Catechist to the Narragansett Indians. The king of the tribe, Thomas Ninigrate, had provided a school at his own expense. The curriculum was reading, writing and Catechism.[25]

Thus we see that in Virginia and in other colonies where the Church of England was strong, the Indians and the negroes were objects of deep solicitude; in places where the Church was weak, the S. P. G. regarded these two races as needing first attention. In the case of the Indians there might have been a touch of the utilitarian added to the charitable or the religious motive, for from the earliest colonial days it seemed evident that friction with the Indians would diminish with the spread of English education and religion.[26] With the negro, the case was a little different. The black man was brought to America

[24] *Abstract of S. P. G. Proceedings*, 1763-1764, p. 62.

[25] *Ibid.*, 1741-1742, p. 40; 1765-1766, pp. 26, 27.

[26] Mr. Bennet's work among the Mohawk Indians, the S. P. G. hoped, might "soothe and mollify their fierce tempers," and his visits to them in their sickness helped to "conciliate" them. (*Cf. supra*, pp. 47, 48.)

for industrial purposes. He was somewhat patronizingly referred to as "poor wretch," or simply "negro" or "slave." Just to make him a better man, or to improve his soul, seems to have been the aim of the efforts expended on him. It is of more than passing significance that Humphreys printed so much material emphasizing the duty, as the Bishop of London saw it, of instructing the negroes. It would be hard to conjecture how much effort would have been expended on instructing these two races if the Revolution had not put an end to colonial conditions. That great struggle with the mother country concluded the work of the S. P. G. in the colonies that were fighting for independence, and very nearly ended the existence of the English Church there. By the time that Church, reorganized on an American basis, had gained visions of her high duty and had accumulated strength to do it, educational matters had passed out of her hands and were being taken over by secular agencies.

No doubt all this work of educating Indians and negroes in the colonies was well founded on piety, but it was relatively futile. The Indian seemed to have no capacity for English ways, to say nothing of English religion. At the College of William and Mary, for example, the Indians learned to read and write English in addition to their inevitable training in Christianity, —"but on returning to their own people, they relapsed into idolatry and barbarism."[27] The Indian department of the College "never did the good that its promoters had thought and hoped. The disposition of the roving Indian who had been hemmed in only by the gilded horizon and blue canopy of the heavens was not adapted to academic walls. Many became dissatisfied in school and pined away and died."[28] The work among the Mohawks was continuous and apparently successful, but few tangible results were handed on from the colonial period. The task of educating negroes in the colonies was confined

[27] *Coll. of Wm. and Mary, Faculty Hist.*, p. 43.
[28] Motley, *Life of Blair*, p. 39.

more to small schools and catechetical exercises. Their menial position required little learning, but they needed religion, and the people of the time seemed willing to let them have it. Results are not easily measured, but we may be sure that all the catechizing done with the negro in colonial days must have been in some degree fruitful. We may still doubt, however, whether results were in proportion to the time and effort expended. The impetus for this work came from England, three thousand miles away, where neither the red man nor the negro was really understood. At that distance it was easier for people to be optimistic about their investments in workers to educate the restive Indian and to train the imported black man in religion and in the colonial social order.

VI.

MATERIALS OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION USED BY THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN THE COLONIES

THAT Church of England Prayer Books and Catechisms, together with Bibles, were the printed matter most used for instruction, may be taken as a matter of course. The correspondence of the Rev. George Pigot, of Stratford, Connecticut, with the S. P. G. in 1722 is illuminating. On August 20 he asked the society for some Prayer Books and Catechisms, strengthening his request with the significant remark, "than which nothing (besides a Bishop) can be more advantageous." On the third of October he wrote that the want of these books was "the great obstruction." A month later they were still an absolute necessity.[1] Similar requests, not many quite so urgent, appear throughout the society's records. Usually the society responded by sending the books.

The Catechism was the all-important text-book for children. One of the requirements which the S. P. G. made of schoolmasters was the teaching of the Church Catechism.[2] On the occasion of Dr. Bray's visitation and conference with the Maryland clergy at Annapolis, May 23-25, 1700, it was resolved that children under nine years old should learn the Church Catechism; children from that age up to thirteen must learn the Catechism and also learn by heart some short exposition of the Catechism, "with Scripture proofs."[3] These expositions became very popular. When the missionaries of the S. P. G. began their work, the society gave to each one a dozen copies of Mr. Oster-

[1] Hawks and Perry, *Conn.*, I, pp. 57, 60, 82.

[2] Third Instruction to Schoolmasters, *S. P. G. Papers*, 1712, p. 29.

[3] "The Acts of Dr. Bray's Visitation," London, 1700; reprinted in Hawks, *Md.*, pp. 502, 503.

vald's Catechism to use.[4] More calls for Ostervald came from time to time, but the exposition that corresponded with the modern "best seller" was that by John Lewis; it will be described later.

For school purposes the Catechism was sometimes combined with other simple texts. These compilations took the place of that remarkable book, the "New England Primer," which was not used where the Church of England had control, but was used everywhere else.[5] One combination was the Primer and the Catechism. Elias Neau, Catechist in New York City, used the "A. B. C. with Church Catechism." Cleator reported to the S. P. G. using the Horn Book; two used A. B. C. books.[6] Kemp examined a copy of the following booklet, printed in Philadelphia in 1785:

"The A. B. C. with the Church of England Catechism to which is annexed, Prayers used in the Academy of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Philadelphia; also a Hymn on the Nativity of our Saviour, and another for Easter Day." The contents are

Alphabet in various forms; punctuation marks; ab-eb-ib etc. syllables	1 page
The Church of England Catechism in form of question and answer	7 pages
Prayers used in the Academy	2 pages
Graces and Hymns	2 pages[7]

In a catalogue of books for masters in Charity Schools, recommended by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, are listed such books as:

[4] S. P. G. Orders, XII, in *S. P. G. Papers*, p. 55. The title was "The Grounds and Principles of the Christian Religion explained in a Catechetical Discourse for the Instruction of Young People." It was thus advertised in Lewis's Catechism (35th ed. 1787). The price was "2s. bound." The author was named as "The Rev. Mr. Ostervald."

[5] Cubberley, *Pub. Ed. in U. S.*, p. 30.

[6] Kemp, *Support of Schools in Col. N. Y. by S. P. G.*, pp. 270, 271.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 274.

The Christian Monitor.

Professor Franck's account of the Hospital at *Halle,* entituled *Pietas Hallensis.*

Munro's Just Measures of the pious Institution of Youth.

Mr. Talbot's Christian School-Master.

The Christian Education of Children.

A Method for Instruction of Children and Youth.

Sermons at the Anniversary Meeting of the Charity Schools *in London.*

Disney's First and Second Essay concerning the execution of the Laws against Immorality and Profaneness.

Mr. Turner's Spelling-Book, and *English* Grammar.

Mr. Snell's New Copy-Book.

John Johnson's Arithmetick.

Vernon's Compleat Counting-House.

Ayre's Youth's Introduction to Trade.

Books suited for actual use by the children in Charity Schools were:

A Bible, Testament and Common Prayer Book.

The Church Catechism.

The Church Catechism broke into short Questions.

Lewis's Exposition of the Church Catechism.

Worthington's Scripture Catechism.

The first Principles of practical Christianity.

Dr. Woodward's Short Catechism, with an Explanation of divers hard Words.

New Method of Catechizing.

Prayers for the Charity-Schools.

The Christian Scholar.

An Exercise for Charity-Schools upon Confirmation.

Pastoral Advice before, and after Confirmation.

The Whole Duty of Man by Way of Question and Answer.

Abridgement of the History of the Bible, which may be well bound up at the Beginning of the Bible, or at the End.

The Anatomy of Orthography: or, a practical Introduction to the Art of Spelling and Reading *English*.
The Duty of Public Worship proved, &c.
Lessons for Children, Historical and Practical &c.
Hymns for the Charity Schools.[8]

Later additions to this list were:

Archbishop Wake's Commentary on the Church Catechism.
Monro's Essay on Christ and Education.
An Exercise against Lying.
An Exercise against Taking God's Name in Vain.
The Way of Living in a Method and by Rule; or a Regular Way of Employing our Time.
The Devout Psalmodist.[9]

No doubt many of these publications were used with adults as well as with children. Other more distinctly adult titles appear in the records of the times. It was natural that George Keith should want books of information about the Church. He asked for all the works of the author of *The Snake in the Grass*[10] and all the treatises published against swearing and Sabbath-breaking. Other books for which he asked, beside Prayer Books, Catechisms, and books containing the Homilies and the Articles of the Church, were:

The Inventions of Men in the Worship of God, by Dr. King, Bishop of Londonderry.

[8] Catalogue, appended to the *Annual Report of the S. P. C. K.* for 1713, reprinted in Allen and McClure, *History of the S. P. C. K.*, pp. 185-188.

[9] From an account of Charity Schools, 1727, in the Archives of Sion College Library; quoted by Kemp, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

[10] The full title will suggest the nature of this publication; it is: "The Snake in the Grass; or SATAN Transform'd into an Angel of Light, discovering the Deep and Unsuspected Subtilty which is couched under the Pretended *Simplicity* of many of the *Principal Leaders* of those People call'd QUAKERS" (Title-page, 3d edition, London, 1698). The author is not named on the title-page, but on the cover he is indicated as "Leslie." (Charles Leslie was a prolific writer of essays to strengthen Church of England views. His *Short and Easie Method with the Deists* was very much used.)

The abstract of *London Cases.*
Dr. Beveridge's Sermon concerning the *Excellency and Usefulness of the Common Prayer.*
The Unworthy Communicant.
Comber upon *The Common Prayer.*
The Whole Duty of Man.
Mr. Brent of Bristol, *against Lying.*[11]

To this list might be added the books referred to by the Rev. Mr. Talbot, in a letter to Keith, saying that he had distributed Mr. Leslie's *Five Discourses* and *The Poor Man's Help and Young Man's Guide* by Mr. Burket.[12]

There are many later references to *The Whole Duty of Man* and to King's *Inventions.* Two other publications that circulated widely were *The Reasonable Communicant* and Wall's *History of Infant Baptism.* The latter was especially desirable in its abridged form. Another publication, of which great numbers were issued in England and money provided for their wide distribution in America, was *The Knowledge and Practice of Christianity made Easy, or, an Essay toward an Instruction for the Indians.* In 1741 the S. P. G. received 1500 copies, together with some money to pay for the gratuitous distribution of this treatise in America. The next year the society received 850 more copies.[13] There were many references to Tate and Brady's Psalms.[14] "They only are used among us," declared the Rev. Samuel Johnson, missionary at Stratford, Connecticut.[15]

Bishop King's little book on *The Inventions of Men in the Worship of God* is quaintly reminiscent of the vivid ecclesiasti-

[11] *Coll. P. E. Hist. Soc.*, 1851, p. xxi.
[12] Hawks and Perry, *Conn.* I, p. 36. The letter was dated Westchester, 14th Feb'y, 1707/8.
[13] *Abstract of S. P. G. Proceedings,* 1741-1742, pp. 31, 32; 1742-1743, pp. 34, 35.
[14] These were metrical versions of the Psalms arranged by Nicholas Brady and Nahum Tate. They were much used in colonial times and for long afterward.
[15] Hawks and Perry, *Conn.*, I, p. 145.

A

DISCOURSE

CONCERNING

The Inventions *of Men*

IN THE

WORSHIP

OF

GOD.

By *WILLIAM KING*, D. D
Now Lord Archbiſhop of *Dublin*.

The Seventh Edition.

LONDON:
Printed for *A. Betteſworth*, at the *Red Lyon* in *Paſter-Noſter-Row*. 1726.

Reproduction of the title-page of the seventh edition of Bishop King's *Discourse Concerning the Inventions of Men in the Worship of God.*

cal controversies of two hundred years ago, when colonial people who were not influenced by English traditions were apt to regard the Prayer Book and some of the Episcopal customs as merely human devices. Bishop King tried to turn the tables on these persons, claiming Biblical authority for *Episcopal* ways of worshipping as against the vainer ways planned by men. In the author's words to dissenting ministers, "It becomes You, and all good Men, at least, to treat Our Service with Respect; since we believe, and think we have prov'd, That 'tis clearly founded on the Word of God." It is *extempore* prayers that exemplify man's fondness for his own inventions. Worshippers who use the Prayer Book should wisely "strive rather to out-live those that differ from you, than to out-argue them. Let the Innocency of your Lives, and your Christian Moderation convince them of the Unreasonableness of their Separation."[16]

In 1741 the S. P. G. sent to the Rev. Mr. Punderson, itinerant missionary in New England, copies of each of the following treatises:

The Englishman Instructed in the Choice of his Religion.
Dr. Stebbing's Book on *Prayer.*
Bishop Beveridge's Sermon on the *Common Prayer.*
The Reasonable Communicant.
The Bishop of Man's *Essay toward an Instruction for the Indians.*
The Trial of the Spirit of Mr. Whitefield.[17]

[16] King, *Inventions,* pp. 227, 241, 248.

[17] The writer has examined a copy of *The Trial of Mr. Whitefield's Spirit in Some Remarks upon his Fourth Journal,* by the Rev. Samuel Weller, published in London in 1740. Mr. Weller tries to discover "whether this Gentleman [Whitefield] does really shew forth the Fruits of the Spirit in Humility, in Gentleness, in Meekness and Charity; and whether he has the Gifts of the Spirit in Wisdom, and in a Sound Mind, so as to warrant the People in owning his Ministry, in opposition to that of the established Clergy, under whom God's Providence has placed them" (p. 6). Whitefield was actuated, the author said, "by a high Degree of Enthusiasm, which has prompted and hurried him on to say many things inconsiderate, uncharitable, and, I fear, even blasphemous" (p. 54).

This was the time when Mr. Whitefield and his followers were stirring up wild religious enthusiasm throughout the colonies. In New Hampshire this fanaticism was decreasing, but there was still demand for tracts "against this new Phrenzy." The Rev. Mr. Currie, missionary at Radnor, Pennsylvania, wrote on May 2, 1741, that *The Whole Duty of Man* was "now much esteemed by Hundreds who knew nothing of it, before *Mr. Whitefield* condemned it." He asked for more copies of it. The people of the Church of England "gave themselves up to none of those wild Notions and enthusiastick Ravings, which some People practiced so much," and by their very sobriety in such unsettled times increased their following.[18] But the emotionalistic movement continued to number many devotees. The Rev. Mr. Reed, missionary in Craven County, North Carolina, upon writing to the society for some tracts against them, received fifty copies of *An earnest and affectionate Address to the Methodists* and a hundred copies of Bishop Gibson's *Caution against Enthusiasm.*[19]

As tracts against dissenters the Rev. John Thomas wrote from Hempstead, Long Island, on the seventh of April, 1706, for Bonnet's *Abridgement* and *The Faith and Practice of a Church of England Man.*[20] In a letter to the S. P. G. dated November 27, 1734, the Rev. Mr. Honeyman, missionary in Rhode Island, said that Barclay's *Apology for the Quakers* had been reprinted at Tiverton and that Keith's answer[21] to that book would do great good.[22] About twenty years later the Rev. Mr. Neill wrote that the Quakers were distributing pamphlets against water baptism, and that, "by Way of Antidote" he had published the arguments against the Quaker attitude. These

[18] *Abstract of S. P. G. Proceedings,* 1741-1742, p. 45, 52; 1742-1743, pp. 42, 50.

[19] *Abstract of S. P. G. Proceedings,* 1762-1763, p. 76.

[20] Moore, *Hist. of St. George's Ch., Hempstead,* p. 34.

[21] Keith had been a Quaker, but had been led by his convictions into the Church of England.

[22] *Abstract of S. P. G. Proceedings,* 1733-1734, p. 60.

arguments he had reduced "to the size of two small sermons"; coupled with Wall on *Infant Baptism,* they offered some hope of ending the controversy. In Bath Town, North Carolina, the Rev. Mr. Stewart did not have Dr. Wall's *Abridgement,* so, instead, he wrote and distributed four hundred copies of a small tract, "in Defence of the Baptism of our Church." When the Rev. Mr. Fayerweather wrote from Narragansett for books to suppress "Deism, Infidelity and Quakerism," the Society furnished him with a dozen copies each of West on *The Resurrection,* Lyttleton on *The Conversion of St. Paul,* and Leslie's *Short and Easie Method with the Deists.*[23]

While such weapons as these were being employed in theological tilts, Dr. William Smith, Provost of the College in Philadelphia, was publishing sermons and addresses and essays written, as well as used, in America.[24] Before coming to Philadelphia, Smith had published in a New York paper (November 7, 1752) an *Essay on Education,* and in 1753 had issued, in New York, the pamphlet, *A General Idea of the College of Mirania,* which had soon precipitated his call to be the head of the new college in Philadelphia. Several of his essays on education had been printed in the *Antigua Gazette,* in 1754. In 1759, and again in 1762, his *Discourses on Public Occasions during the War in America* were published in London.[25] These titles are chosen from a long list of Smith's printed works, which include poems, historical accounts and college addresses. Smith's writings were not so popularly used, and, on the whole, were not so consciously religious, as the English materials that we have discussed; but they seem to have been the first American mate-

[23] *Abstract of S. P. G. Proceedings,* 1763-1764, p. 88; 1761-1762, pp. 39, 40, 61.

[24] Smith, H. W., *Life of Wm. Smith,* II, pp. 534-538, prints a list of Smith's published writings, which list is the authority for this paragraph.

[25] In dedicating the edition of 1762 to Thomas Penn and Richard Penn, Smith said (p. iii) that the discourses had been composed and published in Pennsylvania. The "war" was the French and Indian War, 1754-1763.

rials of religious education produced within the English Church. Some of his addresses, it may be added, were printed by Benjamin Franklin.

The *System of Morality* and *Elements of Philosophy,* by Dr. Samuel Johnson, have been mentioned before. After his retirement from the presidency of King's College, in New York City, Johnson composed a little book, which was published in 1767, and later revised, correlating the fundamentals of the English and the Hebrew languages. This book could not have had a wide circulation, but at that time the mere studying of Hebrew was in itself an act of great piety, and no doubt those who took up the little volume used it no more for grammatical ends than for religious values.

In those days the Church had its poets, too, although they were not numerous and they wrote as men of letters rather than as guardians of souls. Probably they felt that the abundance of religious literature which came from England would meet all spiritual needs of their Church brethren. A volume of poems by the Rev. Nathaniel Evans appeared in Philadelphia in 1772, with a preface by Dr. William Smith. The book contains a number of the Psalms done into verse, and a short fragment of a poem on "The Passion and Resurrection of Christ," but most of the poems are odes and elegies and verses on conventional topics like Patriotism and Spring. One poem is addressed to Benjamin Franklin, "occasioned by hearing him play on the Harmonica."[26] There is an ode to "my ingenious friend, Mr. Thomas Godfrey," and an elegy to Godfrey's memory. Thomas Godfrey was a Churchman who aimed at "beauty, not morality," in poems with such titles as "The Court of Fancy," "The Assembly of Birds," and "The Temple of Fame"; the volume of Godfrey's *Juvenile Poems* included his "The Prince of Parthia."[27]

[26] *Cf.* Evans, N., *Poems,* p. 108.

[27] Henderson, A., Introduction to Godfrey's *The Prince of Parthia,* pp. 38, 40, 45, 46.

This last was "the first tragedy written by an American, and published in America."[28] Both Evans and Godfrey died very young. Another poet who hardly came to the bud before he was lost to the Church was the Rev. Thomas Coombe, an assistant minister at Christ Church, Philadelphia. When the Revolution broke out he favored the King and fled to England. While there he published a poem entitled "The Peasant of Auburn," and the tragedy of "Christ's Passion."[29]

As a general thing, the titles given above are descriptive. The purpose of that essay, *Short and Easie Method with the Deists,* mentioned a while ago, seems plain; the title rings with assurance that the material under it could surely put to silence any man who might venture to air his Deistic notions.[30] One would know that the *Caution against Enthusiasm* had been written to admonish zealous Methodists, even if it were not mentioned in connection with that mollifying title, *An earnest and affectionate Address to the Methodists.* Treatises against *Lying,* and *Taking God's Name in Vain,* and *Sabbath-breaking* recall some of the glaring faults of the time. On the other hand, the way of positive goodness was outlined in *The Whole Duty of Man* and in *The Reasonable Communicant.* Such an extensive circulation of the *Essay Toward an Instruction for the Indians* was a measure of the hope in England that the Church would conquer that picturesque race. We should remember that not only these Indian tracts had been sent over from England, but nearly all the publications mentioned were by English authors and had been transmitted from England to the colonies in America. For some years after the Revolution, practically all of the printed matter used by the Church continued to come from the same

[28] *Ibid.,* p. 61. *Cf.* also Smith, H. W., *Life of Wm. Smith,* I, p. 390.

[29] Coppée, Literary Churchman, etc., in Perry, *Hist. Episc. Church,* II, p. 609.

[30] The full title is: "Short and Easie Method with the Deists, wherein the Certainty of the Christian Religion is demonstrated by infallible Proofs from Four Rules, which are *incompatible* to any *Imposture* that ever yet has been or that can *possibly* be."

source. The process of substituting material by American authors, and printed in America, was gradual; in Drs. Johnson and Smith, and in the young poets who have been mentioned, we have seen its faint beginnings, and shall see more of the process as time goes on.

CONCLUSION

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE COLONIAL BACKGROUND

COLONIAL education as a whole was naturally that of England reproduced as far as more simple conditions would permit. After the Revolution, all education in the new country was at a very low ebb for a time, but when the tide turned it was swollen with new educational theories born of American needs. Naturally, England had ceased to transmit ideas, and the personnel to carry them out, to the American colonies. However, beyond the practical necessity for American self-realization implied in this fact was the far more urgent need of expressing the sublime new belief that all men are created equal. This meant democracy in education as well as in social life and politics. It took a long time to establish this pregnant idea, but it would have taken longer without the colonial experiences. For one thing, obviously, English educational practices woven into the colonial life established a tradition of necessity for some kind of formal education. Changed though educational procedure was after the Revolution, that part of education which had been accomplished through the English Church helped to constitute a definite start of formal education in America. Another advantage came through the religious motive in colonial education. Although Church control in colonial times confined education in relatively narrow channels, it nevertheless stamped education with a dignity and a seriousness, and with a hope, too, which it has never lost. In addition to giving impetus to matters of education and establishing a permanent sense of their importance, colonial experiences helped to prepare for the new democracy in education by

the attention given to Indians and negroes and to the children of the poor gathered into charity schools. Although we notice in this work done for these people a detested spirit of patronage, it was a spreading of education, such as it was, beyond the privileged classes. The same logic which had declared it good to train *some* of the poor boys to be useful apprentices applied in the new democracy to their education for intelligent citizenship; and if some should be thus educated, then why not all? While, therefore, the whole colonial fabric was destroyed by the Revolution, the educational factor in it lived on, to a large extent, and, after slumbering for a while, awoke to the fresh opportunities presented by the new and rapidly growing republic. As has been stated before, that process took general educational matters out of the hands of the Church; by doing so, it threw out into bolder relief the one kind of education that still lay imbedded in the Church, catechetical instruction. That remained unchanged after the Revolution, and, until the rise of Sunday Schools, was the Church's one important means of religious education. Although less used today, it is still much the same as it was when the first S. P. G. missionaries and schoolmasters heard recitations of the Church Catechism.

Second Period.

From the Revolution to 1815.

The Change to an American Outlook.

VII.

RECOVERY FROM THE DISRUPTIONS OF THE REVOLUTION

ENGLISH institutions in the colonies, including the English Church, fared badly during the Revolution. All the clergy had been ordained in England; the English service of ordination bound them to the King. Most of them were dependent on England for salaries, as well as instructions.[1] Nevertheless, a good number of the missionaries either sided with the colonists in their struggle for freedom or else remained discreetly neutral. Bishop William Stevens Perry, historiographer of the American Church, claimed that "the clergy, as a whole, were as true to the cause of freedom as the ministers of any religious body whatever in the land." Only one-fifth of them were active adherents of the royal cause; fully two-thirds of them acquiesced in the measures adopted by the friends of freedom.[2] However, feeling against everything English was very strong; whatever vitality remained in the Church when fighting ceased was there in spite of widespread prejudice and even hatred.

At the beginning of the war the S. P. G. was supporting, entirely or in part, seventy-seven missionaries in what soon became the United States of America. During the conflict many were forced to retire from their missions; a few took the oath of allegiance to the new republic.[3] The doors of the big majority of the Anglican Churches were closed for several years; the clergy were "reduced almost to annihilation."[4]

Many of the clergy abandoned their work and fled to Nova

[1] White, *Memoirs*, pp. 3, 5, 8, 312.
[2] Perry, *Alleged Toryism*, pp. 3, 4, 25.
[3] Pascoe, *Class. Digest of S. P. G. Records*, p. 80.
[4] White, *Memoirs*, pp. 8, 312.

Scotia or to England. Those who remained were under surveillance all the time. Some were put on parole and some were proscribed. Naturally the prayer for the King and the Royal Family was a flaming offense to American patriots; those who still insisted on using it fared the worst. Some were put into jail; Samuel Seabury, for instance, was locked up for a time in New Haven. In Virginia the Rev. Alexander Macrae was lured from his house one night, pulled down from his horse, whipped and left in the woods naked. At Fort Hunter, New York, a body of incensed patriots looted the home of the Rev. John Stuart and then attacked the church; to show their profound contempt, they set up a barrel of rum on the reading desk.[5]

Schools and colleges shared the fate of the churches. The list of schoolmasters and Catechists of the S. P. G., published in 1773, contains thirteen names. Ten years later there was only one schoolmaster and one Catechist. The former was Mr. Ebenezer Street, at New York, where he had succeeded Mr. Bull, resigned. The Catechist was Mr. Post, among the Musquito Indians in distant Florida. The missionary at Haverhill and Claremont, New Hampshire, Mr. Ranna Cossit, received ten pounds for officiating as schoolmaster in Claremont. At the time, the following schools were officially declared vacant, "which the Society have not filled up":

Naraganset Indians
Hempstead
Westchester
Second River (N. J.)
Lancaster, Pa.[6]

In 1778 the school at Hempstead, Long Island, became a guardhouse; the commanding officer of the 17th Light Dra-

[5] *Cf.* Sabine, *Loyalists in the American Revolution,* II, pp. 42, 270, 338, 339. Sabine, *passim,* gives many other instances of obloquy heaped on the clergy.

[6] *Abstract of S. P. G. Proceedings,* 1772-1773, pp. 8-15; 1782-1783, pp. 42-55.

goons, upon entering the town, had not only made this transformation, but had also "appropriated to his own use three acres of land allotted for the benefit of the schoolmaster."[7] In 1776 the Charity School in New York City was destroyed by fire; the loss included two schoolhouses and fencings, valued at two thousand pounds.[8] King's College (Columbia) was transformed into a military hospital.[9] The College of William and Mary was closed for at least a year during the Revolution.[10] In Philadelphia soldiers were continually quartered on the college, which dwindled down and finally closed, in 1777.[11]

It was a badly shattered institution, then, that the leaders of the time patched together and kept going as an American offshoot of the English Church. We can understand how some people could have regarded it as a "piece of heavy baggage which the British had left behind them when they evacuated New York and Boston."[12] Luckily, the Church of England ministers who remained, and the people of the Church, did not so regard it. Considering the general devastation and impoverishment of the country at large, followed by those extremely critical years during which the very existence of the country was hanging in the balance,[13] the Church did very well to mark time and then march on as soon as she did. One is tempted to dwell on subjects connected with the first General Conventions and with the consecrations of the first American Bishops, Seabury, White and Provoost; but these topics are too general to include in a history of religious education. Suffice it to say that the Convention of 1789 adopted a redaction of the Prayer Book, suited to

[7] Letter, Rev. Leonard Cutting, Rector, to the S. P. G., Dec. 9, 1781, printed in Moore, *Hist. St. George's Ch., Hempstead,* p. 134.

[8] Berrian, *Hist. of Trinity Ch.,* pp. 144, 145.

[9] *Catalogue, Columbia College,* 1826, p. 33.

[10] *Coll. of Wm. and Mary, Faculty Hist.,* p. 51.

[11] Smith, H. W., *Life of Wm. Smith,* I, pp. 570, 571.

[12] McConnell, *Hist. of Am. Episc. Ch.,* p. 217, credits Bishop Williams, of Conn., with this expression.

[13] *Cf.* John Fiske, *Critical Period of American History, passim.*

American conditions, a book which remained standard until the revision of 1892; and a set of Church laws, or canons, by which the users of that book should be governed. From that time the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America has maintained an uninterrupted existence.

In the first days of independence, the object, to use Bishop White's words, was the "perpetuating of the Episcopal Church on the ground of the general principles which she had inherited from the Church of England."[14] This is plainly seen in Article IV of the Constitution adopted in 1786.[15] In the second Pastoral Letter of the Bishops, issued in 1811, there is expression of anxiety about "perpetuating the Episcopacy."[16] The next General Convention, in 1814, voted that "the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America is the same body heretofore known in these states by the name of 'The Church of England.' "[17] Some declaration of the kind was necessary, for by this time the younger generation had only a historical knowledge of the enfeebled Church's English lineage, which in prerevolutionary times had been constantly and definitely attested through the support by Church people in England of a comparatively liberal supply of colonial missionaries and schoolmasters. Although this continuity with the English Church was thus recorded for the benefit of any who might question the fact, and although the Church in the United States continued in full recognition of her British kinship, the temper of the Church was becoming more and more American.

This was particularly true of the educational side of the Church. The theory and the practice of catechetical instruction during the period under examination were very much the same

[14] White, *Memoirs*, pp. 28, 29.

[15] It provided for the use of the Church of England rites and ceremonies, and the English Prayer Book, as revised to fit American conditions. *Cf. Jour., Gen. Conv.*, Bioren reprint, 1817, pp. 24, 25.

[16] Second Pastoral Letter, appended to Bioren's reprint of *Jours.*, p. 370.

[17] *Jour., Gen. Conv.*, 1814, in Bioren reprint, 1817, pp. 310, 311.

as they had been in colonial days, when such activities were as closely as possible reproductions of those in England. For other instructions, however, the printed matter used was at first imported from England, then most of it was reproduced, then some was worked over for American use, and finally, toward the close of this period ending at the year 1815, some few instruction materials of American origin were spreading through the Church. The education of ministers became more abruptly an American affair. Naturally, the break with England stopped short the supply of English clergy. To meet the sudden and great need of ministers, young American men continued to prepare for ordination under the private direction of parochial clergymen. By the year 1815 formal theological training had begun in at least one institution of learning and the idea of a General Theological Seminary had taken rather definite form. Theological seminaries, it should be noted, are distinctly American institutions. When organizations were formed to spread religious information and enthusiasm, English precedents may have been in mind, but the societies naturally shaped themselves according to American needs. The same was true of educational institutions. However, the one educational factor that continued on from the colonial period practically unchanged was catechetical instruction. We shall now consider this matter of the perpetuation of the catechetical method. After that we shall review some of the steps taken to educate a native clergy, some of the educational institutions and leaders of the time, some organizations that came into being to spread religious knowledge and some of the printed materials used for educating people in religion.

VIII.

THE PERPETUATION OF THE CATECHETICAL METHOD

A. *THE CHURCH CATECHISM*

IN 1789 the General Convention which adopted the changes that fitted the English Prayer Book to American conditions voted also a set of canons or laws for the regulation of the Church. Part of the only canon that touched the matter of education reads, "It shall be the duty of ministers to prepare children and others for the holy ordinance of confirmation . . . the minister shall be ready to present, for confirmation, those who shall have been previously instructed for the same."[1] There is no mention of the content of this ministerial instruction, but the Prayer Book made it clear that the one Confirmation requirement laid down by the Church was knowledge of the Catechism. The subtitle of the Catechism in the Prayer Book designated it as "an instruction to be learned" in preparation for Confirmation. In the service of Baptism, the sponsors were admonished to see that the child be instructed by hearing sermons and by learning the Creed, the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments and "all other things which a Christian ought to know and believe to his soul's health." The Baptismal Service ended with the request that the sponsors have the child brought to the Bishop for Confirmation as soon as he shall have been thus instructed. Then in the Confirmation service itself these requirements were brought to the attention of the congregation. The opening sentence stated that for Confirmation the Church required knowledge of the Creed, the Lord's Prayer and the

[1] Canon XI, "Of the Duty of Ministers, etc.," *Jour., Gen. Conv.*, Bioren reprint, p. 97.

Ten Commandments and also the answering of the other questions in the "short" Catechism.[2]

In preparing the American Prayer Book, only a few verbal changes were made in the Catechism. There it was to be learned *"by"* every person before Confirmation, whereas in the English book it was to be learned *"of"* every person. *"Godfathers and Godmothers"* became *"sponsors"* in the American book; to *"honour* and obey the *King,"* in the duty toward the neighbor, was changed to *"honor* and obey the *civil authority."* Referring to the Ten Commandments, the English question, "Which *be* they?" was altered to "Which *are* they?" In the Lord's Prayer the English form, "Our Father *which* art" became "Our Father *who* art." Similar verbal alterations were made in the four rubrics at the end of the Catechism, but the substance has remained the same. The first rubric calls for Catechism instruction and examination in the church by the minister ("curate," in the English book). The second rubric requires parents and masters and mistresses to see that their "children, servants and apprentices" go to the church for these appointed catechetical exercises. The third rubric orders those who can answer the Catechism questions to "be brought to the Bishop." The fourth rubric mentions the duty of the minister to provide for the Bishop a list of names of those who are thus prepared for Confirmation.

B. *OTHER CATECHETICAL MATERIALS*

In addition to the Catechism itself, several expositions of that document came into favor. A very popular one was that by John Lewis. Widely used in the later colonial period, it continued to be the much-desired exposition of the Catechism. By 1787 it had reached its thirty-fifth edition.

After an "Epistle Dedicatory" to the Right Reverend and

[2] The past tense has been used here, but the statements are also present facts.

Honorable the Lords and other members of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, the book has a Preface addressed to "My dearly beloved Neighbors," and an Introduction, "from Dr. COMBER." The main book contains:

Part I. The Christian Covenant.

Sec. 1. Of the Benefits of Baptism; or, the Mercies afforded on God's Part.

Sec. 2. Of the Vow of Baptism; or the Conditions required on our Part.

Part II. The Christian Faith.

Sec. 3. Of the Creed; particularly what we are to believe concerning God the Father.

Sec. 4. Of God the Son; particularly his Names, Offices and Relations.

Sec. 5. Of Christ's Humiliation.

Sec. 6. Of Christ's Exaltation.

Sec. 7. Of God the Holy Ghost, and the remaining articles of the Creed.

Part III. The Christian Obedience.

Sec. 8. Of the Ten Commandments; particularly of our Duty towards God, contained in the four first Commandments.

Sec. 9. Of our Duty towards our Neighbor; contained in the six last Commandments.

Part IV. The Christian Prayer.

Sec. 10. Of the Lord's Prayer.

Part V. The Christian Sacraments.

Sec. 11. Of the two Sacraments; and first of Baptism.

Sec. 12. Of the Lord's Supper.

Sec. the last. Of Confirmation.

On the last few pages are various prayers. One is to be said by a child morning and evening. The next few are for the use

of schools; among them are a morning prayer and an evening prayer to be used by masters or mistresses and scholars, and a morning prayer and an evening prayer to be used daily by every child at home. The very last page is occupied with a short prayer for children when they come into their seats in the church, and another prayer upon leaving their seats; and a short grace "before meat" and a grace "after meat."

The prevailing stern attitude toward children is reflected in the footnote to the child's evening prayer. The master or mistress is to instruct the child to "confess and bewail in particular every sin which may have been committed by him or her in the day past; whether (Lying, Taking God's Name in Vain, Stealing, Quarrelling, Stubbornness, or any other)."[3]

Another important Catechism of the period[4] was that of George Innes, Bishop of Buchin Diocese, Aberdeen. In 1791 Bishop Seabury republished it[5] for use in Connecticut. It contains forty-four lessons. The Catechism begins with the familiar questions, "Who made the world?" Answer: "God." "Of what did He make it?" Answer: "He did not make it of any Thing—He commanded it to be and it was made." Man lost his divine nature, the Catechism teaches, by eating the forbidden fruit. To gain the advantages of our Redeemer, we must become members of His body, which we do by Baptism. This sacrament confers forgiveness, a title to the Holy Spirit, the promise of resurrection and immortality, acceptance of obedience to God's will and pardon for sin. Then follow the three requirements for Baptism,—Repentance, Faith and Obedience. This takes us up to the thirtieth lesson, which begins a series of four instructions on Prayer. Then there are catechetical lessons on the Serv-

[3] Lewis, *Catechism*, 35th ed., p. 105.

[4] *Cf.* Seabury, W. J., *Life of Bishop Seabury*, pp. 396, 397, for an account of the extensive use of this Catechism as republished beyond Connecticut.

[5] Innes, *Catechism*, reprinted by Seabury, title-page and Seabury's advertisement on back of title-page. The advertisement is dated New London, Feb. 12th, 1791, and is signed "Samuel, Bp. Connect."

ices of the Church, on Repentance, Confession, the Discipline of the Church, Private Confession, and, finally, on the cardinal virtues of Faith, Hope and Charity.

In 1802 the Diocese of New York published a Catechism which carried on its title-page the recommendation of the Bishop and the clergy of the Diocese. This consisted of the regular Church Catechism followed by another Catechism which was printed without acknowledgment, but which, upon comparison with the Innes Catechism, proves to be that Catechism slightly altered and somewhat abridged.[6] In a letter which the Rev. Amos G. Baldwin wrote from Utica on December 13, 1806, to Bishop Moore, he stated that this "larger Catechism would be a good book"[7] to use in his parochial work. It is not surprising that Church officials in the new country should adopt this Scotch instruction material in question-and-answer form; for Bishop Seabury, who first republished the text of Innes's Catechism, had received his ordination in Scotland, and the question-and-answer form was highly approved at the time. What seems to be most significant is the publication of the New York Catechism without recognizing either Innes or Seabury. The explanation lies in the fact that the Church was becoming more conscious of her independent American existence; she was willing to use this good material from across the water, but when she published it, it was as her own.

C. *THE STATUS OF CATECHETICAL INSTRUCTION*

With these Catechisms in view, and recollecting that the Church Catechism appeared in the Prayer Book as "an instruction to be learned," one would suppose that such admirable provisions for catechization would insure corresponding excel-

[6] The N. Y. Catechism had only 29 lessons, whereas the Innes Catechism had 44. The text is the same, word for word, for pages at a time. Seabury, *Life of Seabury* (p. 396), says that the "N. Y. Catechism" was an "abridgment" of the other.

[7] *Hobart Correspondence,* V, pp. 243, 244.

lence of achievement in that direction. The Bishops did not believe that any such excellence had been attained. Instructions resulting from catechetical work were lacking in the cases of "very many who although intelligent and informed in other matters are incompetent to the giving of a statement of the evidences, either of the Christian religion generally, or of the doctrines of it as professed by the Church in which they have been born and educated." One reason for this ignorance of Church matters, the Bishops thought, lay in the fact that sermons afforded opportunity for the display of a minister's talents,—"but there is nothing of this in the humble office of catechetical instruction; in which, he who gives it must be content to repeat the same truths over and over, in the same or nearly the same form; accommodating himself to that saying of the prophet Isaiah—'Line upon line and precept upon precept.' " A more cogent reason for neglect of catechetical instruction, we may believe, was the fact that Confirmation "until within a few years [of 1811] was unknown in this country" and even then could not be carried, "under present circumstances, to all the churches under our respective superintendence."[8] The Bishops here joined catechetical instruction with Confirmation as a "kindred and instrumental subject"; but if there had been no Confirmations until shortly before 1811, and if that rite could not be generally administered, it was natural that catechetical preparation for it should languish in proportion to the lack of Confirmation for which to prepare.

The part of the Pastoral Letter of 1811 with which the above remarks are connected was the first official treatise of the Episcopal Church on religious education. Its purpose was more to appeal than to make explanations. Because catechetical instructions were in danger of being neglected, the Bishops asked *all* the clergy, even those who were deprived of the opportunity of presenting candidates for Confirmation, to consider the great

[8] Second Pastoral Letter, 1811, in *Jour., Gen. Conv.*, Bioren reprint, p. 367.

importance of catechetical exercises. Moreover, there was a "sting of censure" for any of the laity who did not take care that those who were dependent on them had the benefit of such catechetical opportunities as were offered. "The least that can be expected of heads of families, is to send the younger and less informed members of them, to profit by any opportunities of this sort." They could help still more by "adding the sanction of their authority and their persuasion, to whatever may be usefully delivered."[9]

Records of how this "sting of censure" was being avoided by the laity are hard to find. In Maryland, in Bishop Claggett's time, the members of the Standing Committee of the Diocese went round to examine the state of affairs in the different churches. One question to which they were to get response from Vestries was: "Does your minister from time to time explain to the people the Liturgy of the Church?" Another question was: "Does he diligently prepare children and others for the holy ordinance of Confirmation by catechizing them?"[10] Bishop Claggett's successor, James Kemp, told the Maryland Convention of 1815 that the important duty of catechizing the young was much neglected.[11] At the Virginia Convention of 1793 Bishop Madison instructed the clergy to influence parents to be careful about the religious instruction of their children; he requested ministers to visit people in their homes as much as possible, instructing and examining in the Catechism.[12] The Rev. John C. Rudd wrote from Elizabethtown, New Jersey, that he had catechization at half-past five on Sunday afternoons.[13] It was just such occasions that the Bishops urged the laity to regard as opportunities for the formal instruction of

[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 367, 368.

[10] Claggett, Questions Proposed to the Vestries, quoted in Utley, *Life of Claggett*, pp. 86 ff.

[11] Hawks, *Md.*, p. 414.

[12] *Jour., Va.*, 1793, reprinted in Hawks, *Va.*, Appendix, p. 56.

[13] Hobart, *Correspondence*, V, p. 541.

the "younger and less informed" members of their families. The scarcity of clergy made these opportunities precious, and the scattered locations of homes, outside the few cities, made of them social events. The presence of numbers of young people gave some warmth to exercises that in themselves were cold and dry; and the leadership of the minister loaned to the process a dignity and an authority that no private instruction could supply.

Much of what we have written concerning catechization in the colonial period may be recalled here. If catechetical exercises were limited by the scarcity of colonial clergy, they certainly were restricted during this present period of depleted ministerial ranks. If catechetical work in colonial days was confined within parochial bounds, the same was true of this period after the Revolution. Nor were the chances of the further instruction that was presupposed by the catechetical method any better now than they were in colonial times; they were worse, rather, for at the close of the Revolution educational advantages were almost negligible.[14] Yet what else was there to offer the young and the untrained? Sunday Schools were still in the future. The question-and-answer method was highly approved, and the Catechism was the authoritative material to be learned. Probably it was this last fact that led the House of Bishops to insist on catechetical work even by those ministers to whose parishes the Fates denied the visit of a Bishop for the laying on of hands at a Confirmation service. It is significant that in the Second Pastoral Letter the Bishops should give so much space to religious educational matters; to us, the catechetical exercises about which they wrote seem to be a pitifully small part of the educational work within the Church, but to them that part was large, for the clergy really had no other means of religious education except pulpit utterances. The time for Sunday Schools was ripe. What catechetical exercises were

[14] Cubberley, *Pub. Ed. in U. S.*, p. 51.

not doing, and never could do, the Sunday Schools, once under way, did in an incredibly short time; that was, to reach out a long arm among the masses and lead the unprivileged children toward the Church. As the result, hosts of young people received training in morals and religion, and the Church experienced an unprecedented growth.

IX.

PROVISIONS FOR EDUCATING A NATIVE CLERGY

A. *ATTEMPTS OF THE GENERAL CONVENTION TO STANDARDIZE THE EDUCATIONAL REQUIREMENTS OF CANDIDATES FOR HOLY ORDERS*

IN the pastoral letter of 1811 issued by the House of Bishops, there is expressed the "desire of recommending and doing whatever promises to aid in the securing of a learned ministry"; while learning, without the grace of God, counts only a very little, yet "the effects of manifest literary deficiency in a clergyman are too obvious to be overlooked. It tends to drive some of the intelligent and well informed members of our Church to other societies."[1] These definite assurances from such high authority add significance to the efforts made after the colonial period to perpetuate learning among the clergy. There had been considerable legislation concerning the matter. Beginning in 1789, the triennial Conventions discussed and voted on questions revolving about dispensations of requirements made of Candidates for Holy Orders. As we shall see presently, in 1804 the House of Bishops established an official course of ecclesiastical studies.

In 1789 the Convention passed a canon requiring that before ordination a candidate must give assurance that he was "sufficiently acquainted with the New Testament in the original Greek, and can give an account of his faith in the Latin tongue."[2] In October (the Convention met July 28, and after a short session adjourned to September 29) the Convention

[1] *Jour., Gen. Conv.*, 1811, Bioren reprint, p. 369.
[2] Canon VIII, 1789, in Bioren reprint of *Conv. Jours.*, p. 60.

voted to remit all or part of these requirements "in consideration of other qualifications," provided that two-thirds of the State Convention to which the candidate belonged should recommend such dispensation to the Bishop.[3] At the next triennial Convention, in 1792, the requirements were increased by the addition of knowledge of natural and moral philosophy, Church history and *belles lettres,* together with rhetoric and pulpit eloquence. However, dispensation could still be granted by the method just mentioned.[4] Three years later, in 1795, the Convention rescinded this canon (VII, of 1789) concerning *dispensation,* and left these matters to the judgment of the candidate's Bishop.[5]

Although the above *requirements* continued in force, this question of dispensation caused further anxiety. An epidemic prevented the gathering of the regular triennial Convention of 1798,[6] but it met a year later; at that session the Convention repealed that part of Canon IV which granted to each Bishop the right of judgment as to educational requirements.[7] This left the dispensation slate clean, so to speak; on it, the next Convention, in 1801, wrote a fresh canon (II) allowing the Bishop "with the advice and consent of all the clerical members of the standing committee of his Diocese" to "dispense with the knowledge of the Latin and Greek languages, and other branches of learning not strictly ecclesiastical, which are required by the fourth canon of 1795."[8] At the next Convention, in 1804, the House of Deputies voted to repeal the second canon of 1801 and offered a new one in its place. Instead of concurring, the House of Bishops proposed a substitute for the canon coming from the other House. This substitute the House

[3] *Cf.* Canon VII, in Bioren reprint, p. 96.
[4] Canon VI, 1792, in Bioren reprint, p. 130.
[5] Canon IV, 1795, in Bioren reprint, pp. 154, 155.
[6] White, *Memoirs,* p. 26.
[7] *Jour., Gen. Conv.,* 1799, in Bioren reprint, pp. 184, 187.
[8] *Jour., Gen. Conv.,* 1801, in Bioren reprint, p. 208.

of Deputies would not accept.[9] At the next Convention, in 1808, it was proposed to require of candidates "a practical knowledge of religion." The Bishops could not see how a candidate could prove possession of such knowledge, so they substituted for the above phrase the words "the fruits of the Spirit," which seemed to them the only way by which sacred influence could be known. In the House of Deputies, that word "known" caused, in Bishop White's words, "a warm debate." The outcome, however, was acceptance of the Bishops' phrasing of this further requirement of those who would be ordained.[10]

Although the Church was in distress through lack of clergymen, this continuous legislative activity indicates unwillingness to open too wide the door to that sacred office. "Rhetoric and pulpit eloquence," added in 1792 to the requirements of a candidate, raised disquieting questions. Bishop White says that the phrase was misunderstood and abused to mean "mere fluency of speech; evidently found in some very ignorant men, and even in some whose understandings are naturally weak."[11] Apparently the vague clause, "in consideration of other qualifications,"[12] left plenty of room for conjecture. It came before the General Convention of 1814 when the clerical delegates from Connecticut, acting under instructions from their State Convention, asked the Bishops to explain its meaning. In reply, the Bishops designated other qualifications as "extraordinary strength of natural understanding," "a considerable extent of theological learning," "a peculiar aptitude to teach," and "a

[9] *Ibid.*, 1804, p. 218. The *Journal* does not print either of the substitutes proposed. The lack of concurrence left the canon as it had been arranged in 1801.

[10] White, *Memoirs*, pp. 250, 251, 253. No details concerning canonical legislation in 1808 appear in the *Journal* for that year. Bishop White's account of the matter shows (p. 251) that there was an agreement to omit recording certain details of the matter as they passed between the House of Bishops and the House of Deputies.

[11] White, *Memoirs*, p. 289.

[12] The canon allowed dispensations "in consideration of other qualifications."

large share of prudence."[13] It is worth noting that even in those days the Bishops considered "aptitude to teach" as a weight to put into ordination balances.

B. *THE PRESCRIBED COURSE OF STUDY*

In 1804 the House of Bishops issued a course of theological studies.[14] This came in answer to a request made at the Convention of 1801 by the House of Deputies that the House of Bishops "consider of and establish a course of ecclesiastical studies proper for Candidates for Holy Orders."[15] For many years this was the standard course of training for the ministry and was printed at the end of successive General Convention journals.

The first subject on the list was the proof of the Divine authority of Christianity. Among the books mentioned for study under this head were:

> Grotius, on *The Truth of the Christian Religion.*
> Jenkins, on *The Reasonableness of Christianity.*
> Paley's *Evidences.*
> Butler's *Analogy.*

Then came the Scriptures, with the help of commentators such as Patrick and Lowth on the Old Testament and Whitby or Doddridge on the New Testament. Of each book the character and design were to be learned, and difficult passages were to be explained. For the relations between the Old Testament and the New Testament, one must consult either Prideaux's or Shuckford's *Connexions*.[16] Next was Ecclesiastical History, to

[13] *Jour., Gen. Conv.*, 1814, Bioren reprint, p. 314; White, *Memoirs*, p. 36.
[14] *Jour., Gen. Conv.*, 1804, Bioren reprint, pp. 230-234.
[15] *Jour., Gen. Conv.*, 1801, Bioren reprint, p. 205.
[16] "Connexions" are those between the two Testaments. The title of Prideaux's book is "The Old and New Testament Connected in the History of the Jews and Neighboring Nations, from the Declension of the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah to the Time of Christ," by Humphrey Prideaux, Dean of Norwich (title-page, 15th Am. ed., 2 vols., 1860).

the Council of Nice. The Apostolic Fathers were recommended here, and Cave's *Lives of the Apostles and Fathers*. Our Lord's Divinity was then mentioned as a subject to be studied, with the guidance of such books as those of Bishop Bull and of the Rev. Charles Leslie. The question of Episcopacy then came in, to be studied in books like:

Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity.*
Archbishop Potter, on *Church Government.*
Daubenay's *Guide to the Church.*

After this a student could learn the history of the fourth century and the Reformation, using Mosheim as a safe guide. Some other books mentioned were:

Chillingworth, *Religion of Protestants, a Safe Way to Salvation.*
Dr. Barrow's *Treatise of the Pope's Supremacy.*
Father Paul's *History of the Council of Trent.*

Under "Systematic Divinity," the list of books included:

Bishop Pearson's *Exposition of the Creed.*
Bishop Burnet's *Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles.*
Stackhouse, *Body of Divinity.*

One must know the "Prayer Book," the "Duties of the Pastoral Office," and the "Constitution and Canons." Prayer Book knowledge included "grounds on which the different services are constructed, and the meaning of the Rubrics." Concerning the Pastoral Office, one might learn through Bishop Burnet on *Pastoral Care* and Bishop Wilson's *Parochialia.*

Evidently these requirements could not be met by all,[17] for there followed a statement of the minimum that would be accepted, which was:

[17] Turner, S. H., *Autobiography*, pp. 78, 79, says that these requirements were more than twice as much as anyone could meet. Examination of the full list of books recommended by the Bishops verifies Turner's statement.

Paley's *Evidences.*
Mosheim, with a reference to Mr. Hooker for *The Episcopacy.*
Stackhouse's *Body of Divinity.*
Mr. Reeves on the *Common Prayer.*
The Constitution and Canons of the Church.
An account of the different books of the Scriptures, with explanations of passages "on the grounds contained in some good commentary."

Appended to all this was a classified list of books for the library of a parish minister, as it had appeared in *Elements of Christian Theology,* published by the Bishop of Lincoln.

1st class: Books relative to the Exposition of the Old and New Testaments.
2d class: Books establishing the Divine Authority of the Scriptures.
3d class: Books explaining Doctrines and Disciplines of the Church and the Duties of its Ministers.
4th class: Books miscellaneous, including Sermons and Church History.

At the end were some names of approved sermonizers and a few titles of practical and devotional books.[18]

In 1814 the General Convention added the two Books of Homilies to the list of text-books for theological students. Because of their scarcity, the Convention asked that the Ecclesiastical Authority in each Diocese procure a copy, or copies, and require of all Candidates for the Ministry a knowledge of the contents.[19] The thirty-fifth Article of Religion recommends these homilies for their "godly and wholesome Doctrine," and

[18] The Sermons of Bishop Seabury and of Dr. William Smith were included in the list. No other American publications were mentioned in connection either with the studies or with the library list.

[19] *Jour., Gen. Conv.,* 1814, Bioren reprint, pp. 303, 311; White, *Memoirs,* p. 441. "Homilies" were sermons. The title-page of the volume examined (the two books originated in 1552 and 1559, respectively, but were later published in one volume) reads: "Sermons or Homilies appointed to be read in Churches in the Time of Queen Elizabeth, of famous Memory," etc.

says that they are "to be read in Churches by the Minister diligently and distinctly." These sermons, or homilies, have a decidedly practical bent. There are homilies on the *Resurrection,* on *Prayer,* and on *Repentance and Reconciliation,* but there are more on such subjects as *Excess of Apparel, Swearing and Perjury, Alms-deeds, Good Works,* and the *Right Use of the Church.* The desire to perpetuate the use of these sermons was natural. Not only did they tend to preserve the *purity* of Church teaching, but they also gave *substance* to discourses rendered in the days when books were few and educational opportunities in the United States distressingly limited.

C. *THE MINISTERIAL TRAINING OF PHILANDER CHASE AND OF SAMUEL H. TURNER*

An idea of the actual process of theological education in this period may be gained from one or two specific cases. Philander Chase, whom the Church will long remember as the pioneer Bishop and educator in Ohio first, and later in Illinois, became interested in the Episcopal Church through studying a Prayer Book which came into his hands while he was a student at Dartmouth College.[20] After his graduation, in 1795, he went to Albany, New York, to consult the Rev. Thomas Ellison, Rector of St. Peter's Church, about studying for the ministry. Although an entire stranger, he received warm welcome and encouragement; through Mr. Ellison he secured a position teaching school, and he obtained access to Mr. Ellison's "well-chosen theological library."[21] The very meagerness of the account is no doubt a reflection of the simplicity and private nature of Chase's training in Albany. From the characterization of Mr. Ellison as warm-blooded and "fine" and "a finished scholar,"[22] we can easily infer that, in addition to merely loan-

[20] Smith, *Life of Chase,* p. 33.
[21] Chase, *Rem.,* I, pp. 19-22.
[22] Smith, *op. cit.,* pp. 39, 40.

ing books to his enthusiastic young protégé, he furnished wise counsel and guidance. Moreover, on the very first Sunday of his tutelage, Chase started out with one of Mr. Ellison's sermons in his pocket to hold services as lay reader for the few Episcopalians in Troy. His teaching and his studies kept him busy during the week, until his ordination to the diaconate on May 10, 1798, in St. George's Church, New York City, by the Rt. Rev. Samuel Provoost, the first Bishop of New York.[23]

There are some instructive details concerning the preparation of the Rev. Samuel H. Turner, whose long and valuable services as professor in the General Theological Seminary will occupy our attention farther on. Upon his graduation from the University of Pennsylvania on July 23, 1807, he went to Swedesborough, New Jersey, to visit one of his father's friends, the Rev. Henry J. Feltus, whose counsel resulted in a decision to study for the ministry. One book which Turner mentions as having had great effect was Doddridge's *Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul;* another helpful book was Bishop Beveridge's *Private Thoughts.* Turner pursued his studies under Bishop White, in Philadelphia, whom he consulted in his study once in two weeks, at first, and afterward once a month. This plan continued for more than three years. He had no examinations until just before his ordination. He read a great deal, but "thought and studied little." He covered much ground, but not in a thorough or systematic manner. To quote his words: "I crammed so fully that I had neither opportunity nor ability to digest any thing intellectually. Consequently, my conceptions of theology as a system were very vague and undefined, and my acquaintance with the several departments of divinity loose and imperfect."

Turner was greatly impressed with the candor of the Bishop in showing both sides of a controverted point. For instance, he coupled Skinner's *Truth and Order* with Campbell's *Lectures*

[23] Chase, *Rem.*, I, pp. 20-22.

on Ecclesiastical History and Lord King's *Primitive Church* with Slater's *Original Draft*. Stillingfleet's *Irenicum* followed after Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity,* Potter on *Church Government,* and the controversial works of Hobart, How, Bowden and Miller. The Bible received much attention. Turner says that he read Patrick, Stackhouse's *History of the Bible,* Whitby, Doddridge's *Expositor,* and Campbell on *The Gospels;* further, he "consulted" Poole's *Annotations,* and "such other books as I had access to." Later on he took up the study of the New Testament in Greek; his great aid here was Parkhurst's *Lexicon.* New Testament criticism came through "Bishop Marsh's translation of the introduction of John David Michaelis, which I got from London through a friend of my father residing there." By studying Lightfoot's *Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae,* Turner learned "the vast importance of Jewish Literature in illustrating Scriptural phraseology." About a year before ordination, he began the study of Hebrew under the Rev. Samuel B. Wylie, teacher of Latin and Greek in the University of Pennsylvania. He was ordained deacon in St. Paul's Church, Philadelphia, on the morning of January 27, 1811.[24]

D. *THE GERM OF THE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY IDEA*

Although the General Theological Seminary did not come into physical being until the next period of this history, agitation for it was now beginning. The proposal of such a theological school came before the General Convention of 1814 through the delegates from South Carolina, in accordance with instructions which they had received from their Diocesan Convention.[25] On February 17, 1814, the Rev. Dr. Gadsden had brought the matter before the South Carolina Convention,

[24] Turner, *Autobiography,* pp. 15, 18-23, 27-34.
[25] White, *Memoirs,* pp. 295, 296.

which body resolved "that the representatives of this Church in the next general convention, be requested to use their endeavors, that there be established in some central situation, under the auspices of the Church in general, a theological seminary," etc.[26] For reasons not given, the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies at the General Convention of 1814 voted against the proposition, but on the last day of the General Convention the Bishop of South Carolina brought the matter before the House of Bishops. In the discussion that followed between that Bishop and the Assistant Bishop of New York it was revealed that the latter already had made tentative plans for such an institution,[25] to be located at what is now Short Hills, New Jersey.[27] The upshot of the matter was the passage of a resolution requesting the various Dioceses to consider the question of establishing a general theological seminary.[28]

A letter written by Hobart on March 13, 1813, "to Mrs. S.," quoted by McVickar, tells of his eager desire to open a theological seminary; he had actually secured for the purpose, at Short Hills, New Jersey, a plot of ten acres of land. The management of the school was to be shared by the Bishop of New Jersey.[29]

A beginning of theological instruction in an institution was then actually being made at the academy in Fairfield, Herkimer County, New York. Upon the request of the Rev. Amos G. Baldwin, of that town, for assistance to Fairfield Academy,[30] Trinity Church, New York City, granted to the institution, in January, 1813, the sum of $750 a year, on condition that the principal be a clergyman of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and that he "give clerical and theological instruction to eight

[26] *Jour., S. C.*, 1814, reprinted in Dalcho, *Hist. P. E. Ch. in S. C.*, pp. 532, 533.

[27] McVickar, *Prof. Yrs. of Hobart*, p. 259.

[28] *Jour., Gen. Conv.*, 1814, Bioren reprint, pp. 315, 316.

[29] McVickar, *Prof. Yrs. of Hobart*, pp. 253-255, 259, 260; White, *Memoirs*, p. 296. "Mrs. S" was Mrs. Startin (Hayes, *Dioc. W. N. Y.*, p. 39).

[30] *Catalogue (General) Hobart Coll.*, 1897, p. v.

young men preparatory to their taking Holy Orders."[31] Eight years later, in helping to organize an official "Branch" or "Interior" Theological School in the Diocese of New York, Trinity Church transferred this annual allowance to the academy at Geneva, where theological education continued until 1824, when the General Theological Seminary in New York City absorbed the "Branch" School.[32]

The very attention paid to the matter of educating the clergy indicates its importance in the eyes of Church authorities. In comparison with the weakness of the Church and the prevailing simplicity of the time, the setting forth in 1804 of a definite course of studies for theological students to pursue was an educational step of great importance. The fact that the course was far beyond the possibility of attainment shows how determined the Church was to hold up the standard of learning among her clergy. All the constant legislation concerning dispensations of requirements for ordination shows the same determination; although between the lines one may read a tale of fear that the Bishops might gain too much power in such matters, one may also note the desire to avoid "literary deficiency" and thus to prevent the loss of "well-informed" members of the Church. To hold up the standard was not easy in those days of general slackness in education; the leaders of the Church displayed both wisdom and courage in refusing to condone the downward movement in education that followed the Revolution. Later this comparatively rigid policy was amply justified by the large part it enabled the Church to play in the new country as it grew, not only in numbers but also in intelligence.

[31] *Catalogue, Hobart Free Coll.*, 1856, p. 3. The number in the divinity class varied from four to seven (Hayes, *op. cit.*, p. 54).

[32] *Cf. infra*, pp. 230, 232, 248.

X.

EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND LEADERS

THERE were great problems in the educational situation that the new Republic had to face. Naturally, as Cubberley says, "the end of the colonial period marked the abandonment of the transplanting of English educational ideas and schools and types of instruction." Already, before the end of the colonial days, the religious control of education had begun to weaken a little. In the first half-century of national life education passed more and more out of the hands of the Church into the control of the State. Several new forces were at work to hasten this change, forces which Cubberley enumerates as philanthropic, political, social and economic.[1] Although the country rejoiced in its political independence, there were some philanthropic schemes that came from England and gave impetus to the movement toward popular education, Monitorial Schools,[2] Sunday Schools and Infant Schools. The political life and the social conditions in the United States were developments of the ideas of democracy which had been written in the Constitution; the plan of democracy in school life, also, followed as a logical sequence and as a practical necessity for intelligent participation in public affairs. This necessity became more apparent a little later, with the growth of cities and the increase of factory life. Democratic theory and practical need then united to emphasize the value of secular wisdom and to

[1] Cubberley, *Pub. Ed. in U. S.*, pp. 46, 83.

[2] In England Andrew Bell and Joseph Lancaster used the plan of dividing up large groups of children into squads of ten or so, and putting in charge of each squad a brighter boy who was called a monitor. In this way large numbers of children could be taught by one master. The plan was introduced in the United States shortly after the beginning of the nineteenth century. Monitorial schools not only actually reached masses of children, but also helped to expand the theory of popular education.

place the acquiring of that wisdom under public control. In addition to these circumstances, so unfavorable to education under ecclesiastical control, the Episcopal Church was only slowly emerging from a condition of seeming destruction caused by the Revolution.

A. *COLLEGES AND SCHOOLS*

Educational institutions in general were seriously injured by the upheavals of the momentous conflict. The College of William and Mary lost its Indian School through the successful efforts of Beilby Porteus, Bishop of London, to divert the Boyle fund to work in the West Indies. It was further weakened by the making of Richmond, in place of Williamsburg, the capital city. In 1777 James Madison, afterward Bishop of Virginia, became President[3] of the institution, a position which he held until his death, in 1812. During his administration the institution abolished (in 1779) the grammar and the divinity schools and added departments of law, of medicine and of modern languages, making a little university out of this old colonial college. Most of the faculty and students were Episcopalians.[4]

In 1777 the college at Philadelphia closed its doors, and in 1779, because of its alleged pro-British character, lost its charter. Dr. William Smith, Provost of the college, went to Chestertown, Maryland, where he started an academy which became Washington College. In 1789, upon the restoration of the charter to the Philadelphia institution, he returned to that city. It was too late, however, to revive the college in Philadelphia. In 1791, weakened by its period of suspension, it formed a union with the State University; the combined insti-

[3] Madison taught natural philosophy and mathematics. There were two other professors, Robert Andrews and John Bracken. There were about forty students.

[4] Tyler, *Williamsburg*, pp. 168-178. Tyler has given us a good account of the college, with pictures and some very interesting details.

tutions became the University of Pennsylvania. The election of Dr. Ewing, a Presbyterian, as Provost, ended Episcopal influence there.[5]

At Columbia College, as the former King's College in New York was called in its new charter granted on April 13, 1787,[6] there were attempts made to circumvent the fixed condition that the President of the institution must be an Episcopalian. In 1810, anti-Episcopalianism gathered strength to elect Dr. Mason as President, but John Henry Hobart anxiously went round to some of the trustees and succeeded in assuring the election of Dr. Harris.[7] Whitefield's proposed Bethesda College finally received a charter in 1791, but his death in 1770, followed by a ravaging fire at the orphanage, had left the institution only nominally existent. In December, 1808, the Legislature ordered the property sold and the proceeds distributed among certain charitable institutions in Savannah.[8]

The Kent County School, in Chestertown, Maryland, had been so successful under the care of Dr. William Smith that in 1782 it received a charter as Washington College, named in honor of George Washington, who became one of the trustees. Liberal contributions enabled the institution to erect a brick building one hundred and sixty feet long, three and a half stories high, to accommodate two hundred students.[9] Two years after the incorporation of Washington College, the Legislature granted a charter to "St. John's College," to be located at Annapolis, on the western shore of Chesapeake Bay. The same act provided that the two colleges should work together as the University of Maryland, assisted by state funds. In 1786 King William School was amalgamated with St. John's College, which finally opened on the eleventh of November, 1789. For some

[5] Smith, H. W., *Life of Wm. Smith,* I, p. 571; II, pp. 18 ff., 27, 305 ff., 315 ff.
[6] *Catalogue, Columbia Coll.,* 1826, Foreword.
[7] McVickar, *Prof. Yrs. of Hobart,* pp. 190-194.
[8] Jones, *Ed. in Ga.,* p. 15.
[9] Smith, H. W., *Life of Wm. Smith,* II, pp. 34, 35, 64 ff.

reason—jealousy, as much as anything—the two colleges did not form a very close alliance; in 1805 the State felt obliged to withdraw its annual allowances to them. This act nearly ended the existence of both colleges, but they struggled along until they found new sources of reliance.[10]

In those days colleges tended to develop from academies, which, while not numerous in the Episcopal Church, were beginning to appear. The South was not quite ready for academies; the old colonial ideas of tutors and English universities for the sons of the rich, and a little charity education for the boys of low birth and fortune, still prevailed.[11] In Pennsylvania the mixture of races and religions left to each group a certain amount of freedom in educational procedure. The Episcopalians took early advantage of this opportunity. In 1785 the Rev. Dr. William White started the Protestant Episcopal Academy of Philadelphia; in 1787 was founded the Episcopal Academy at York, which twelve years later became a public school for York County; in 1800 the Rev. Messrs. Samuel Magaw and James Abercrombie opened an Episcopal Academy on Spruce Street, Philadelphia.[12] It was in this academy that Abercrombie delivered his lectures on the Catechism, which were afterward published in book form.[13]

In Burlington, New Jersey, an Episcopal Academy came into existence in 1792 and received its charter on May 9, 1795. At first it met in a house, but the increasing numbers of students warranted a larger building, which was erected in 1794 and

[10] Steiner, *Hist. of Education in Maryland*, pp. 41, 42, 69, 70, 101, 102, 105 ff. The Rev. Bethel Judd and the Rev. Hector Humphreys, both Episcopal ministers, were later Presidents of St. John's College.

[11] An institution somewhat lower than college grade, but called "Charleston" College, started in that city in 1785. Episcopalian influence is seen in the fact that the first head was the Rev. Robert Smith, later the first Bishop of South Carolina. Under him Nathanial Bowen, who became the third Bishop of South Carolina, studied and graduated. Under the Rev. Jasper Adams the institution succeeded in a degree, but with the rise of South Carolina College it declined.

[12] Wickersham, *Hist. of Education in Pennsylvania*, pp. 279, 484, 492.

[13] *Cf. infra*, pp. 125, 127-129.

which stood until it was torn down and replaced by the new St. Mary's Church in 1846. In this academy the future Bishop McIlvaine prepared for college.[14]

In Cheshire, Connecticut, the corner stone of a new academy was laid on the twenty-eighth day of April, 1796. In June the annual Convention of Connecticut, meeting in Cheshire, adopted a constitution for the academy and elected twenty-one trustees. The principal must be an Episcopal minister, to be chosen by the Convention. The first incumbent of that office was Dr. John Bowden, who, since 1791, had been in charge of an academy at Stratford, Connecticut. Most of his pupils went with him to Cheshire. Under him the institution flourished. On May 30, 1801, the academy received its charter. A year later Dr. William Smith[15] succeeded Dr. Bowden, who had become Professor of Belles Lettres at Columbia College.[16] In 1806 the Rev. Tillotson Bronson became principal, and until his death, twenty years later, operated the academy with marked success.[17] He added to the reputation of the institution by admitting young women as students. This was, as J. P. Beach in his *History of Cheshire* remarks,[18] a "somewhat rare opportunity."[19] The intention to have the academy become a college is seen in the three attempts to get a charter for that purpose; in 1804, in 1810 and again in 1811, the Legislature refused to grant the institution's requests for college privileges, with power to confer degrees.[17]

[14] Hills, *Hist. of the Ch. in Burlington,* pp. 328-335, 391, 489. From the first of May to the first of September, school hours were 6 to 8 and 9 to 12 in the morning and 2 to 5 in the afternoon; during the rest of the year the hours were 8.30 to 12 and 2 to 4.30. Corporal punishment was inflicted "as sparingly as possible; tokens of disgrace to be substituted instead thereof, that the minds of offenders may be mortified."

[15] This William Smith should not be confused with the William Smith who had been Provost of the college in Philadelphia.

[16] Beardsley, *Address at 50th Anniv. of Cheshire Acad.,* pp. 9-13, 39.

[17] Beardsley, *op. cit.,* pp. 17, 22, 23.

[18] Beach, *Hist. of Cheshire,* p. 248.

[19] Article VII of the original constitution (adopted in 1796) allowed "female

It is interesting to see how the Rev. John C. Rudd was trying to solve the problems of morals and education of Episcopal youths by taking them into his home and maintaining oversight of their conduct and their lessons in an academy not controlled by the Episcopal Church. On Saturday, March 12, 1807, under the head of "Education," in the New York *Evening Post*, the public were "respectfully informed that the ELIZABETH-TOWN ACADEMY (New Jersey) is now open for the reception of Students, in all branches of classical Education, under the tuition of Mr. Henry Mills." After some further remarks in favor of the institution, the notice was signed by John McDowell, *President* (of the Board of Trustees), and John C. Rudd, Rector of St. John's Church, *Secretary*. A year later, March 30, 1808, the same paper printed the following advertisement:

REV. JOHN C. RUDD

Residing in the healthy and pleasant village of Elizabeth Town, New Jersey, 15 miles from the City of New York, proposes to take a small number of young gentlemen into his family as boarders.

He offers the following inducements for gentlemen to place their sons and wards under his care—In the village there is an Academy, where are taught all branches of literature, preparatory to a Collegiate Education, under the direction of Mr. H. Mills, who for nearly two years past has acted as instructor much to his own credit and the advantage of his pupils. The Academy is regularly visited by a board of Trustees, and every exertion is made to render the institution flourishing and useful. J. C. Rudd pledges himself diligently to watch over the morals and general deportment of those committed to his care. He will devote a portion of every day to directing and aiding them in the preparation of the recitations for the Academy. In this way to a considerable degree, Academical and Private Instruction will be blended. In Elizabeth Town there are likewise schools for instruction in the French language, &c.

education" at the academy, but in 1836 this article was changed to make the academy "exclusively for boys" (Constitution, reprinted in appendix to Beardsley's *Address at 50th Anniv. of Cheshire Acad.*, pp. 39, 41, 42).

Evidently Rudd had an eye to New York patronage, for not only did he mention the distance, fifteen miles, at the beginning of the advertisement, but also he gave the name of the Rev. Dr. Hobart in New York as reference, and closed the advertisement with the following:

N.B. Regular, safe and frequent intercourse is daily maintained between the City of New York and Elizabeth Town.[20]

Mr. Rudd was doing the best he could, under the circumstances, to keep Episcopal boys under Church influence. The Episcopal Church was too weak to have its own academy in Elizabethtown; in Connecticut, it was strong enough to have an academy at Cheshire, but still not persuasive enough to induce the Legislature to grant the desired college charter. As has been seen, the colleges established during the colonial period were rapidly passing out of Episcopal influence. It is very significant that although James Madison, who later became Bishop of Virginia, was President of the College of William and Mary for many years immediately after the Revolution, it was just in those years that the Divinity School was given up and the college was made more like the modern secular university. Dr. William Smith was one of the greatest educators, if not the greatest, in the early history of this country, but his dominance at the Philadelphia College ended with the War, and the new University of Pennsylvania found no place for him. The college which he started in Chestertown, Maryland, and the college at Annapolis on the opposite shore of the Chesapeake Bay which absorbed King William School, soon received financial aid from the State, a fact which precluded religious control and checked any tendency toward strong Church teaching. Apart from any statutory requirements concerning the religion of the President

[20] Advertisements, quoted in *Hobart Correspondence*, V, pp. 297, 298, 512. The Rev. Mr. (later, Dr.) Rudd was for many years an outstanding figure in the Church. He will be mentioned again as editor of the *Churchman's Magazine* and of the *Gospel Messenger*.

of Columbia College, the metropolitan location of that institution insured its growth beyond the confines of any one point of view, religious or otherwise. From the old standpoint of religious control of education, then, the Episcopal Church's outlook was not very promising. Yet the Church was producing educational leaders, a closer view of whom will be somewhat reassuring.

B. *EDUCATIONAL LEADERS OF THE TIME*

Some names of educational leaders of the Church have already been mentioned. The Dr. William Smith who served as principal of the academy at Cheshire, Connecticut, after Dr. Bowden's resignation, was not the former Provost of the Philadelphia College. The Connecticut Dr. Smith had come from Rhode Island to the parish in Norwalk in 1797. Three years later he went to New York and opened a grammar school which succeeded in establishing his reputation as a teacher. From this field of work he was called to Cheshire.[21] The other Dr. William Smith has been mentioned before as having been elected Bishop of Maryland, in 1783, but never consecrated, and also as one who helped to maintain the reputation of the clergy for learning and wisdom. Although he lost his power at the college in Philadelphia, his prestige as an educator continued.

Dr. John Bowden had once been assistant minister at Trinity Church in New York. He came to Norwalk, Connecticut, in 1784. Five years later he journeyed to the West Indies for his health, but returned to Connecticut again and was called from Stratford in 1796 to be principal of Cheshire Academy.[22] In 1802, as we have seen, he became Professor of Moral Philosophy and Belles Lettres at Columbia College. While there, he wrote the letters which carried the "unanswerable" argument

[21] Beardsley, *Hist. Address at 50th Anniv. of Cheshire Acad.*, pp. 19, 20.
[22] Berrian, *Hist. of Trinity Ch.*, pp. 155, 156.

against the Rev. Dr. Samuel Miller's published objections to Episcopacy.

John Henry Hobart, future Bishop of New York, a leader in Christian education, was called from a counting-house, at the age of eighteen years, to be a tutor at his alma mater, Princeton. Through some misunderstanding, the arrangements were not completed for two years. Once located in Princeton, the young instructor enjoyed popularity and a growing reputation.[23] A Mr. Gaston, a contemporary of Hobart at Princeton, wrote: "With respect to his merit, there was but one opinion; all esteemed him for his genius, learning and virtue."[24] Any expectations arising from these facts were amply fulfilled in an exceedingly fruitful life.

Another Bishop whose achievements in education were marked features of his day was Philander Chase. At intervals during his college course at Dartmouth he kept school in Bethel, Vermont. After his graduation, in 1795, he taught in Albany and in Poughkeepsie, New York. In 1805 he went to New Orleans to serve as a minister. He had not been there long before he opened a school, which grew up into a prosperous institution.[25] After six years he returned North to supervise the education of his sons.[26] These educational ventures in New Orleans no doubt yielded valuable experience that Chase used later when, as pioneer Bishop, he laboriously created Kenyon College in Ohio and Jubilee College in Illinois.

Thomas Church Brownell, later Bishop of Connecticut, was not a member of the Episcopal Church when, on April 5, 1805, he began to teach Latin and Greek in Union College, at Schenectady, New York. Two years later he became Professor of Belles Lettres and Moral Philosophy there. By another two

[23] McVickar, *Early Yrs. of Hobart,* pp. 168, 172, 180 ff.
[24] Letter, printed in McVickar, *op. cit.,* pp. 187, 188.
[25] Chase, *Rem.,* I, pp. 19, 21, 22, 51, 54, 74, 75, 93, 99.
[26] Smith, *Life of Chase,* pp. 75, 76.

COLLEGE LIBRAR

years he was teaching in the new department of Chemistry and Mineralogy. His marriage to a strong Episcopalian helped to clear his ideas of religion and church. He was baptized on the fifth of September, 1813, in St. George's Church, Schenectady, and was confirmed a few days later.[27] Some years afterward, as Bishop of Connecticut, he took a vital interest in educational matters. When the General Theological Seminary was removed from New York to New Haven, he welcomed it and worked for it; when Sunday Schools began to form in the various parishes, he encouraged them and found in them a hopeful means of religious education; when he saw need of an American commentary on the Prayer Book, he wrote one; when the time came to open a college in his Diocese, he led in the agitation for Washington, later renamed Trinity, College and became its first President.

C. *CHARITY EDUCATION*

The charity idea in education was carried over from colonial days. In New York, the Episcopal Charity School was aided, not only by the generosity of Trinity Church, but also by legacies which came in from time to time. In 1793 a committee of the Vestry of Trinity Church advised the sale of certain lands in order to produce funds for building a schoolhouse. Two years later, the Vestry planned to convey some property, in trust, to the Charity School; it was not until 1800, however, that anything definite was done. In that year, after setting apart twenty-seven lots of land for the benefit of the Charity School, the Vestry changed its mind and adopted the alternative of an endowment in bonds and mortgages. Accordingly, it granted that form of help in the sum of three thousand pounds. The State, too, made a donation.[28] Berrian, the early historian of

[27] Brownell's Autobiography, printed in Beardsley's *Hist. of Episc. Ch. in Conn.*, II, pp. 192-196.

[28] Berrian, *Hist. of Trinity Ch.*, pp. 96-99. Berrian does not record the amount given by the State.

Trinity Church, lists the benefactions of Trinity Church to the Charity School as follows:

1748	Ground, and balance lacking by subscription (sum not stated).	
1748	For rebuilding,	$ 1,000.00
1800	Debt assigned to it of	5,276.87½
	Seven lots of land bounded by Lumber, Rector and Greenwich Streets (estimated value in 1849),	35,000.00
	Donation,	1,000.00
	Donation,	7,500.00
1808	Donation,	1,000.00
	Total,	$50,776.87½[29]

It may be added here that in 1810, when the Trustees of the Free School Society of New York asked Trinity Church for land on which to build, their request was not in vain; again in 1815, Trinity Church granted this organization's further petition for more land.[30]

In 1815, or possibly at the end of 1814, there was established in Bloomingdale, New York, a school for the education of poor children at the expense of the parish. St. James's Parish, New York City, established a similar school for blacks; in 1815 more than thirty pupils, mostly adults, were enjoying the advantages of the school.[31] There is good testimony as to the value of these schools for negroes in the South; Christopher E. Gadsden, in his life of Bishop Dehon, states that the school for blacks established before the Revolution in St. Philip's Church, Charleston, resulted in orderliness and high character among the people of that race.[32]

[29] Berrian, *Hist. of Trinity Ch.*, pp. 371, 372.
[30] *Ibid.*, pp. 230, 231.
[31] *Jour., N. Y.*, 1815, Onderdonk reprint, p. 326.
[32] Gadsden, *Life of Dehon*, p. 205 (note *b*).

In Philadelphia, on the third of November, 1788, Bishop White laid before the vestry of Christ Church, of which he was Rector, a plan to institute a free school for boys, under the care of the Trustees of the Episcopal Academy, and, as soon as funds should warrant, a Sunday School and a school for girls; also an annual charity sermon for the benefit of these undertakings. The Vestry retarded the project by asking that girls be included in the proposed benefits "from the beginning."[33] Michael remarks that it was "venturesome" for Bishop White to propose a plan "so characteristically English," and says that the Vestry waited for funds and for better organization.[34]

When a "better organization" was effected, a little more than two years later, it was not confined to any one church or denomination; it took the name of *The First Day or Sunday School Society* and attempted to educate "the rising generation" of Philadelphia in reading and writing, using as textbooks the Bible and other moral and religious books. A preliminary meeting was held on December 19, 1790; on January 11, 1791, the following officers were elected:

President, Rt. Rev. William White, D.D.
Vice-President, Mr. James Pemberton.
Treasurer, Mr. Thomas Mendenhall.
Secretary, Mr. Matthew Carey.

On the first Sunday of March, 1791, the Society opened a school for boys on Front Street, near Arch Street, and a school for girls at the corner of Third and Arch Streets. The teachers were Mr. John Poor and Mr. John Ely, respectively. Their salaries were eighty dollars each a year for forty scholars, but on March 24 the society increased this amount to one hundred and twenty dollars. Probably this increase was due to the large

[33] Dorr, *Hist. of Christ Ch., Phila.*, p. 213.

[34] Michael, *S. S. in Dev. of Am. Ch.*, p. 54; also, Rice, *The S. S. Movement*, p. 43, says that the proposition was too English.

attendance, reported by the visiting committee to be about one hundred in each school. On May 5, 1791, the society opened another school, on Second Street, near Shippen, with Mr. John Barry as teacher.[35]

School hours were from eight to half-past ten in the morning, and from half-past four to six in the afternoon. The following bills for books, one presented July 5, 1792, and the other April 1, 1810, show what materials were used in the schools:

½	doz. small Bibles,	$ 3.21
50	Friendly Instructors,	3.75
6	Watts' Songs,	1.40
12	Whole Duty of Woman,	.93
12	Economy of Human Life,	1.00
6	Catechism of Nature,	1.16
	Total,	$11.45

The later bill reads:

1	doz. Pierce's Spelling Books,	$ 1.20
1	" Primers,	.50
1	" School Bibles,	9.00
1	" Testaments,	3.50
1	" Copy Books,	1.20
1	" Comly's Spellers,	2.25
	Total,	$17.65[36]

These schools were adaptations of the Sunday Schools of the time in England. They were established for social amelioration, and they were suffused with the charity idea. The preamble to the constitution of the First Day Society refers to the work of educating "the offspring of indigent parents," and to the "dep-

[35] *A Century of the First Day or S. S. Soc.*, pp. 5-8. In the summer of 1792, John Poor's school removed to Cherry Alley, near Third Street; and John Barry's school removed to Union Street (*ibid.*, p. 12).

[36] *Ibid.*, pp. 8, 12, 17.

ravation of morals and manners" on "the first day of the week, called Sunday."[37] Through the process of educating these poor children came the vision of a more extensive plan of popular education at public expense. In January, 1792, the organization petitioned the Legislature to establish free schools. The Sunday Schools in Philadelphia had already demonstrated, the petition claimed, that the "blessings of illumination among the mass of the people" could be spread through schools established at public expense; for the Sunday Schools had afforded "means of education to numbers who would be otherwise debarred therefrom."[38] In some degree, then, these Sunday Schools of the First Day Society in Philadelphia helped to pave the way for modern tax-supported public schools; at the same time, they were the precursors of the Sunday Schools which grew up later to teach religion. Until somebody else should teach reading and spelling, purely religious Sunday Schools could not flourish; later the spread of popular education gave the Sunday School its opportunity to teach religion, an opportunity which it soon grasped. Until that opportunity arrived, the Episcopal Church did little or no Sunday teaching beyond its catechetical exercises and sermons. There is record, however, of a *Sunday Charity School* at Christ Episcopal Church, Hudson, New York, which opened January 5, 1803, and continued for several years.[39]

[37] Preamble, printed *ibid.*, pp. 6, 7.
[38] Petition, reprinted *ibid.*, pp. 9-11.
[39] *Second Annual Report of Exec. Com. of Gen. P. E. S. S. Union*, p. 55.

XI.

ORGANIZATIONS FOR SPREADING RELIGIOUS KNOWLEDGE

FRESH evidences of returning strength in the Church became manifest soon after the beginning of the new century in the form of aggressive organizations for the spread of interest in religion and the Church. The societies which came into being were not artificially created just to keep people busy in religious matters; they were formed to meet obvious needs of the Church. Beside Bibles, people must have American Prayer Books and also tracts about the Church which continued to use set prayers and which still acknowledged the authority of Bishops. The influx of clergy from England was a thing of the past; the American Church depended on an American ministry. It was natural, therefore, that early organized attempts at Episcopal Church extension should be directed toward the education of ministers.

A *Society for the Promotion of Religion and Learning* came to birth at a meeting of the Vestry of Trinity Church, New York, on the sixteenth of August, 1802. Its object was the securing of a sufficient number of pious and learned ministers in the Protestant Episcopal Church; it would assist promising candidates, support a theological library, establish schools and maintain one or more fellowships at Columbia College. At the next meeting the Vestry endowed the organization with twenty-two lots of land and gave it a thousand dollars for immediate wants. In 1805 Trinity Church granted to the Society the lease of a house and land on Murray Street. Three years later that church donated six more lots.[1] Berrian, who in 1847 published

[1] Berrian, *Hist. of Trinity Ch.*, pp. 218-220.

his *History of Trinity Church,* states that Trinity Church's gifts of land to this organization added up to thirty-two lots, at a value then computed as $120,000; money donations had amounted to $9,500.[2] The Society used its income in aiding theological students during their preparation for Holy Orders, in supplying books and in other ways fulfilling its purpose of advancing religion on its educational side.

On October 31, 1808, the *Protestant Episcopal Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge* in Connecticut was organized. Its object was to circulate Bibles and Prayer Books, and books and tracts about the Church. Ten years later it technically dissolved and surrendered its name to a new society which, while continuing the informational activities mentioned, took on in addition the very important work of Diocesan Missions.[3]

The same year that the Connecticut Society was formed, in 1808, the Maryland Convention started *The Society for Confirming and extending the Interests of the Christian Religion in General and of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Particular.* It is the opinion of Francis L. Hawks, historian of the Church in Maryland, that this organization was an extension of an earlier informal association which had planned to publish and distribute good books. He states that the renewed undertaking was too pretentious for the feeble condition of the Church in Maryland at the time, and that the Society published nothing except a few tracts.[4]

In 1809 the Rev. John Henry Hobart started the *Bible and Common Prayer Book Society of New York.* His firm insistence on circulating the Prayer Book along with the Bible caused some bitter criticism; he was even accused of being opposed to Bible Societies. But, as he said, his objection was "not to the

[2] *Ibid.,* p. 372.
[3] Beardsley, *Hist. of Episc. Ch. in Conn.,* II, pp. 73, 151, 152.
[4] Hawks, *Md.,* p. 371.

rant."[12] Upon joining, one paid two dollars and a half; after that, dues were fifty cents semiannually; ladies, and the "benevolent and pious generally,"[12] might pay the same amounts and be called "subscribers." In the first two years the society distributed nearly four thousand tracts.[13] One tract that circulated widely was on the subject of *Prayer,* with forms of daily and occasional devotions; for deeper study of this subject, the society printed Hobart's *Companion to the Book of Common Prayer.*[14]

In October, 1810, the *Episcopal Society of New Jersey for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge and Piety* was instituted. Its objects were the distribution "among the poor of the Holy Scriptures, the Book of Common Prayer, and, if deemed expedient, religious Tracts." Further, if the funds would permit, the society was to aid "young men of piety and talents who may need assistance, in the necessary preparation for the Gospel Ministry." The payment of ten dollars made one a life member; one dollar paid annually made a person a contributor, "also a member." The affairs of the society were managed by a Board of Directors, composed of equal numbers of clergy and laity, elected annually.[15] A report written as early as 1813, by omitting all reference to assistance rendered to theological students, allows us to infer that funds did not permit realization of that worthy ambition; but since July, 1811, the society had distributed more than twenty Bibles and Testaments, two hundred Prayer Books, and three hundred and five religious tracts.[16]

In 1810, the *Bible Society* of Charleston, South Carolina, including all denominations, was instituted; the Rev. Dr. Theo-

[12] The magazine thus quotes from the Constitution of the Society.

[13] *Churchman's Magazine,* Jan. and Feb., 1813, p. 77. Tracts were 18¾ cents a dozen to members and subscribers; others paid twice as much.

[14] *Churchman's Magazine,* May and June, 1813, pp. 230, 231.

[15] *Jour., N. J.,* 1815, p. 12.

[16] *Churchman's Magazine,* May and June, 1813, p. 232.

dore Dehon, who became Bishop two years later, was one of the founders. When the question of having anniversary services arose, Bishop Dehon feared "collisions"; at the services themselves some would want extempore prayers and others would prefer precomposed supplications, while the anniversary discourse, which would naturally be on Bible subjects, would necessarily have the sectarian bias of him who should deliver it. Accordingly, on June 19, 1813, Bishop Dehon and three other Episcopal clergymen resigned from the Board of Managers.[17]

In June, 1810, the *Protestant Episcopal Society for the Advancement of Christianity in South Carolina* was organized "for the promotion of religious knowledge, learning and piety"; the Rev. Theodore Dehon was chairman of the Board of Trustees. Two years later the pledges due were enough to swell the permanent fund of the society to a total of about eight thousand five hundred dollars. At the same time the organization looked with pleasure on "the establishments which are about to be made, under the authority of the government of the state, of free schools for the diffusion of education among all classes of its citizens. . . . Books of the best character will be provided, through the instrumentality of this society, for distribution; and other measures taken, which may render the diffusion of religious and moral information coextensive with the diffusion of literary improvements."[18]

Early in 1813 the society ordered some tracts on *The Sabbath,* evidently to aid in carrying out this purpose; three hundred copies of *The Christian Sacrifice,* by "the pious Mr. Nelson"; and a cheap edition of three hundred copies of the *Summary of the Principal Evidences of the Truth and Divine Origin of the Christian Revelation, designed chiefly for the*

[17] Gadsden, *Life of Dehon,* pp. 170-175. The three other resignations were those of Christopher E. Gadsden, Paul T. Gervais and Frederick Dalcho.

[18] *Ibid.,* pp. 332-335.

Use of Young Persons, by Beilby Porteus, Bishop of London.[19] Before the end of the year all the Nelson books were in circulation, and the Porteus books were nearly gone.[20] Meanwhile the work of distributing Prayer Books continued without abatement; tracts in comparatively large numbers passed along through the hands of zealous members.[19] By 1815 the affairs of the society were in such good condition as to allow a long-expected library to be started.[21] The Diocesan Convention of that year resolved "that this convention behold with great pleasure the growing prosperity of the Pro. Epis. Soc. for the advancement of Christianity in So. Ca."[22]

The Bishops' Third Pastoral Letter, issued in connection with the General Convention of 1814, praised the energy of the English *Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge* and the efficiency of the *British and Foreign Bible Society,* and recommended for the *American* Church the distribution of Bibles, Prayer Books and tracts. The tracts most needed were those accommodated to "the less informed departments of society." As a favorable element in Church circumstances, the Letter mentioned "an extending demand for the Holy Bible, and for books on subjects of Christian doctrine tending immediately to practice."[23] Bishop Hobart believed that this demand was being met, at least so far as Bibles were concerned; he said: "The present age is distinguished by the unparalleled efforts which are made for the distribution of the Word of God."[24] In his address to the New York Convention of 1815, he referred to Bible and Prayer Book Societies in New York,

[19] Report of P. E. Soc. for the Advancement of Christianity in S. C., in *Churchman's Magazine* for May and June, 1813, p. 229.

[20] *Churchman's Magazine,* Nov. and Dec., 1813, p. 443.

[21] Gadsden, *Life of Dehon,* p. 157.

[22] *Jour., S. C.,* 1815, reprinted in Dalcho, *Hist. of Episc. Ch. in S. C.,* p. 546.

[23] *Jour., Gen. Conv.,* 1814, Bioren reprint, pp. 373, 379-381.

[24] Hobart, *Pastoral Letter to the Laity of the P. E. Ch. in the State of N. Y.,* April 3, 1815, p. 4.

in Albany,[25] and, recently formed, on Long Island and in Dutchess, Columbia and Greene Counties.[26]

In Massachusetts, in 1815, a missionary society was incorporated, with a further good purpose of distributing Bibles, Prayer Books, tracts and volumes of a religious and moral character. For some reason the organization did not flourish, but it was revived and strengthened in 1822.[27]

These different organizations arose to meet the exigencies of the time; one of the greatest needs was instruction. A very significant feature was Hobart's resolute insistence on the use of tracts of information rather than those of emotional excitement. Instruction was what the people needed. The Episcopal Church and her principles were still only vaguely understood; it was quite necessary to give positive information about her, and, in many cases, to explain why the Church of so recent British authority and patronage was not an anomaly in the land of newly acquired freedom from England's control. Moreover, the general conditions of the time enhanced the value of these organizations as a means of religious education. Schools were few and poor; the religious motive in them had diminished considerably since the colonial days; the population was scattered; reading matter was scarce. There was much educational value in the process of spreading, among those who could read, tracts about religion and about the Episcopal way of promoting religion; and of putting Bibles and Prayer Books, as revised for American use, into the hands of the people.

Very early the necessity for an educated clergy was recognized by organized efforts; in fact, one of the first organizations of which record has been found was the *Society for the Promotion of Religion and Learning,* formed in New York in 1802

[25] Founded in 1809. *Cf.* Hobart, *Pastoral Letter to the Laity of the P. E. Ch. in the State of N. Y.,* 1815, p. 6.

[26] *Jour., N. Y.,* 1815, Onderdonk reprint, p. 315.

[27] *Jour., Gen. Conv.,* 1823, p. 22.

to increase the number of "pious and learned ministers" of the Church. The same object became part of the program of other organizations formed afterward. *The Protestant Episcopal Theological Society,* started in New York City by Hobart, in 1806, was a sort of a club formed to generate enthusiasm for the ministry. More practical steps appear in the plans of the *Episcopal Society of New Jersey;* in addition to the distribution of Bibles, Prayer Books and tracts, this organization proposed to render assistance to candidates for the ministry.

The societies mentioned are those which have come to light; probably some other organized educational efforts were made unheralded, and the work done quietly without permanent records of accomplishments. These first societies for the religious education of ministers and of the people were part of a more general movement toward closer organization throughout the Church. Within the bosom of the Church religious desires and moral aspirations were beginning to express themselves through organizations that were the precursors of the manifold societies and guilds which are so effective in the present day. They were signs of vigor, signs that the Church was feeling the throb of existence under new hopes, and experiencing a sense of responsibility for a type of worship and of Church life that must now win its way entirely on its own merits. In addition, this movement toward organization was a pledge, an assurance, of increased strength in that still doubtful future. By employing more and more the powerful machinery of organization, the Church, weak for nearly half a century after the Revolution, advanced to larger life and better days.

XII.

MATERIALS OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN THIS PERIOD

A. *ENGLISH MATERIALS*

MATERIAL in the form of Catechisms was mentioned in the discussion of the catechetical method as it was perpetuated from colonial times. Some of the other publications used in the colonial period lived on into the new days. That was the case with Leslie's *Short and Easie Method with the Deists,* which was spoken of under "Materials" in the Colonial Period. It was included among the essays edited by William Jones, of Nayland, and published under the title, *The Scholar Armed.*[1] Leslie's *Short and Easie Method* had become well known in colonial days, partly through the trial of John Checkley, in Boston, for republishing it, in 1723, together with another discourse in favor of Episcopacy.[2]

Jones's *Essay on the Church* was another popular discourse of the time. Its author, in editing *The Scholar Armed,* wisely decided to include it in that compilation. Reports concerning Jones's *Essay* were that it did "much good."[3] In Bishop Chase's pioneer days in Ohio there came to him at Portsmouth a man

[1] The second edition of *The Scholar Armed* came out in 1800, 2 vols., 8vo. The work included a number of other essays by Leslie and also Jones's *Essay on the Church;* other contents were Bacon's Confession of Faith and various essays by Bishop Horne and others. Bishop Hobart recommended *The Scholar Armed* as a means of storing the mind "with the most sound and valuable information on the most important topics of divinity." (*Cf.* Berrian, *Works of Hobart,* I, p. 106.)

[2] Checkley was fined fifty dollars for publishing and selling a false and scandalous libel (*i.e.,* Leslie's *Short and Easie Method with the Deists*). *Cf. The Speech of John Checkley upon his Tryal, at Boston,* etc., p. 40.

[3] Letter, Andrew Fowler to Hobart, in *Hobart Correspondence,* V, p. 317. *Cf.* also *ibid.,* p. 189, Letter, Joseph Jackson to Hobart, Sept. 22, 1806. Chase, *Rem.,* I, p. 18.

who had learned about the Church from a "little square book" which had lost its title-page; further questioning revealed the fact that the book was *An Essay on the Church* by the Rev. William Jones, of Nayland, England, which had been reprinted in 1794 at the cost of the Rev. J. C. Ogden.[4] In the preface to the original *Essay,* Mr. Jones wrote that he taught the children "privately in my own house, and publickly in the church; and I am for the present the only Sunday Schoolmaster of the place." He had noticed, he said, that the Church of England Catechism was defective in regard to "the Constitution of the Church of Christ." On this account he had "determined to go through the subject."[5] His *Essay* contained:

CHAP. I

Of the Distinction between the World and the Church; with the Nature and Character of both Societies.

CHAP. II

Of the Means of Grace, and the Marks by which the Church of Christ is to be known.

CHAP. III

The Errors which tempt men to leave the Church, and make them easy when they are separated from it.

CHAP. IV

Of the abuse of the Reformation &c.

CHAP. V

A short View of the present State of the Argument between the Church of England and the Dissenters.

[4] Chase, *Rem.,* I, pp. 17, 18, 173, 174. Chase explains that the square form was cheaper than the oblong page. Mr. Ogden was poor and made great sacrifices to get the essay reprinted.

[5] Jones, *Essay on the Church,* Preface, pp. ii, iii; examined at the Library of the General Theological Seminary in New York. It is also printed in *The Scholar Armed,* edited by Jones.

POSTSCRIPT

An Account of the first Separation of the Dissenters from the Church of England.

Another treatise of wide circulation for a great length of time was *The Poor Man's Help and Young Man's Guide,* by William Burkitt. The Rev. Daniel Nash called it the most useful book next to the Prayer Book.[6] This same Mr. Nash appreciated other good books; he wrote to Bishop Hobart for Sherlock on *Death,* and the *Sermons* of Barrow and of Secker. Two books which Hobart himself selected for the use of one of his clergy were Laurence's *Sermons* and Cooper's *Manual of Divinity.*[7]

In the *Index to the Religious Tracts dispersed by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge,* issued early in the nineteenth century,[8] there are names of short treatises both new and old. The full list would be too long to print here, but all the department headings appear below, with a few samples of the titles advertised under each head.

HOLY SCRIPTURES

Several Methods of reading the Holy Scriptures in private.
Ostervald's Necessity and Usefulness of reading the Holy Scriptures.

[6] Letter to Hobart, May 12, 1810, from Exeter, Otsego County, N. Y., in *Hobart Correspondence,* VI, p. 407; *ibid.,* III, p. 218, refers to the "great utility" of Burkitt's *Guide.* Some copies were used in Green Bush (Rensselaer), N. Y. (*cf. Hobart Correspondence,* V, p. 302).

Burkitt was Vicar of Dedham, in Essex. His foreword is dated 1693, at Dedham. There were many editions of his *Guide,* during the course of which the title was changed to *An Help and Guide to Christian Families* (*cf.* title-page, 34th ed., 1773, and 37th ed., 1794). The book contained doctrinal instructions, some practical directions for the daily, as well as the general, course of a good life, some preparations for Holy Communion, and some Hymns and some Prayers.

[7] *Ibid.,* V, pp. 185, 520.

[8] The index is undated, but it is bound up with pamphlets of 1805-1807. The paper and the style show that it is of the same age.

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE DEVOTION

Beveridge's (Bp.) Sermon on the Common Prayer.

The Christian's Daily Devotion, with Directions how to walk with God all the Day long.

Stonhouse's (Sir James) Prayers for the Use of Private Persons, Families, Children and Servants.

CATECHISM

Church Catechism broke into short Questions.

Mann's (Bp.) Exposition of the Church Catechism.

The Catechism briefly explained by short Notes, grounded upon Holy Scripture, commonly called the Oxford Catechism.

CONFIRMATION

Nelson's Instructions for them that come to be confirmed.

Nowell's Earnest Exhortation to young Persons lately confirmed.

Secker's (Abp.) Sermon on Confirmation.

BAPTISM

Serious Address to Godfathers and Godmothers.

Wall on Infant Baptism.

HOLY COMMUNION

A Companion to the Altar.

Fleetwood's (Bp.) Reasonable Communicant; Or, an Explanation of the Doctrine of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in all its Parts, from the Communion Service.

Tillotson's (Abp.) Persuasion to frequent Communion.

CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE AND PRACTICE

A Serious Address to Seceders and Sectarists who exist in Separation from the Church of England.

Christian Directions and Instructions for Negroes.

Green's Instructions for the Poor; shewing God's Goodness and Love to them; and how much it is their Duty and Interest to serve and please Him.

Taylor's Answer to the Question, Why are you a Churchman?

PARTICULAR DUTIES

A plain and serious Exhortation to Prisoners, both Debtors and Criminals.

Kennet's (Bp.) Excellent Daughter.

Scougal's Duty and Pleasure of Praise and Thanksgiving.

AGAINST COMMON VICES

An Earnest and Affectionate Address to the Poor, more particularly in regard to the prevailing Sin of Drunkenness; in a Letter from a Minister to his Parishioners.

Fleetwood (Bp.) Against Swearing.

Woodward's (Dr.) Kind Caution to Profane Swearers.

Baseness of Slandering and Backbiting.

Dissuasive from Gaming.

Dissuasive from Drunkenness.

Grievous Scandal of Profane Language.

AGAINST POPERY

Gibson's (Bp.) Dangers and Mischiefs of Popery.

A Protestant Catechism, shewing the principal Errors of the Church of Rome.

AGAINST ENTHUSIASM

Gibson's (Bp.) Caution against Enthusiasm.

An Earnest and affectionate Address to Methodists.

ON THE EDUCATION AND INSTRUCTION OF CHILDREN AND FAMILIES

Kennet's (Bp.) Christian Scholar.

Stonhouse's (Sir James) Religious Instruction of Children Recommended.

Wilson's (Bp.) True Christian Method of Educating Children.

It is to be remembered that these are only some of the many titles of publications of the *Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge*. The *Pastoral Letter* of 1814 did not exaggerate

when it said that the tracts of this Society were a veritable "storehouse from which there may be drawn the religious armour."[9]

B. *AMERICAN CHURCH LITERATURE*

All of these materials mentioned so far were English. The reprinting of Bishop Innes's *Catechism* by Bishop Seabury, in 1791, and of Jones's *Essay on the Church* by the Rev. J. C. Ogden, in 1794, were steps in the process of weaning the Church from complete dependence on England for her printed matter. Another step was taken when the Diocese of New York, in 1802, published much of the material of the Innes Catechism under its own name. It was in New York, too, that John Henry Hobart published books that were "highly esteemed by the pious people of the Church."[10] To be sure, he made liberal use of English texts, but his books were primarily American in purpose.[11] *The Companion for the Altar,* which appeared in 1804,[12] when Hobart was an assistant minister at Trinity Church, New York, reached its fourteenth edition in 1843. It contained an explanation of the Holy Communion and some Meditations and Prayers to use with reference to it.

In the same year, 1804, Hobart published another *Companion,*—for the Festivals and Fasts of the Church Year. As the title-page says, the contents had been "principally selected and altered" from Nelson's *Companion* issued in England (in 1703) for the same purpose. Other English authors used were Bishop Gibson, Dean Hickes, Stevens, Potter and Daubeny.

[9] *Cf. Third Pastoral Letter,* in Bioren reprint of *Jours., Gen. Conv.,* p. 381.

[10] So the Rev. Daniel Nash wrote to Hobart from Richfield, N. Y., on June 10, 1805. *Cf.* the letter printed in *Hobart Correspondence,* IV, p. 448.

[11] According to Julius H. Ward, Hobart was the first to create a demand for Church Literature in America (*cf.* Ward's art. on "Church Literature" in Perry's *Hist. of the P. E. Ch.,* II, p. 613).

[12] *Hobart Correspondence,* I, p. ccv.

The instruction material was in the popular question-and-answer form.

In 1805 Hobart issued his *Companion for the Book of Common Prayer,* and in 1806,[13] his *Clergyman's Companion.* The second edition of the latter appeared in 1828, in two volumes, "considerably enlarged." The first volume is occupied with occasional Offices and Prayers. The second volume contains:

I. The Religious and Moral Qualifications of a Clergyman.
II. The Literary and Theological Qualifications of a Clergyman.
III. The Proper Discharge of Ministerial Duty.
IV. Performing the Public and Private Offices of the Church.
V. The Subjects of Ministerial Instruction.
VI. The Composition and Delivery of Sermons.
VII. Of Catechizing, Preparing the Young for Confirmation and exhorting the People to the Holy Communion.
VIII. Of Visiting the Sick.
IX. Of Pastoral Visiting and Instruction.
X. The Dignity, Usefulness and Happiness of the Ministerial Office, including some prayers and "ejaculations"[14] and a Table of Psalms and Hymns in Metre.

Hobart's *Companion for the Book of Common Prayer,* as just noted, appeared in 1805. It contains discourses on "the Advantages of Forms of Prayer for Public Worship," "the Excellence of the Liturgy," "the Persons who have Authority to Perform the Service," "the Order for Daily Morning and Evening Prayer," "the Devout and Decent Performance of the Service," "Explanation of the Service," and "the First Part of the Communion Service." Then come two prayers, one to be used before service and one after. Following this is a clear explanation of the Collects, Epistles and Gospels and their use throughout the Christian Year, the seasons and important days

[13] *Hobart Correspondence,* I, p. ccv.

[14] Ejaculatory prayers were quick devotional exclamations like "God help us all," or "Holy Jesus, guide me." Such brief prayers could be used frequently during the day.

of which are named. At the end is an explanation of the Communion Service, followed by a few sentences quoted from a Convention sermon by Bishop Moore declaring the authenticity of the Episcopal Church.

In 1806[15] Hobart published his *Essays on Episcopacy,* and in 1807 his *Apology for Apostolic Order.* Julius H. Ward has claimed that the latter composition was the one by which Hobart was best known.[16] The *Apology* was a series of sixteen letters to the Rev. John M. Mason, D.D., defending the Episcopal Church against certain denunciatory articles that had appeared in *The Christian's Magazine,* of which Mason was the editor. Hobart began by assuring Dr. Mason of his respect, personally; on the other hand, he held Mason, as editor, responsible for the attempt of the magazine to "make a breach in the towering fortress of Episcopacy." Then he proceeded to answer Presbyterian objections to the Episcopal form of Church organization. Written in dignified parliamentary language, Hobart's letters breathe the spirit of loyal devotion to the Church of which he was a prominent minister and was soon to become a leading Bishop.

In 1814 Hobart published *The Christian's Manual of Faith and Devotion,* which he had adapted from *The Village Manual,* an English publication; it contained religious dialogues, and some ejaculatory prayers and other forms of intercession.

While Hobart was thus adapting English publications to American needs, and was defending the Church which used them, some others were issuing material which was more consciously American. We have seen that, during the last twenty years of the colonial period, Dr. William Smith, in Philadelphia, was constantly publishing addresses and sermons. It was quite natural that sermons should be the principal material, barring such English publications as have been discussed, first

[15] *Hobart Correspondence,* I, p. ccv.
[16] *Cf.* Ward's Article in Perry's *Hist. of the P. E. Ch.,* II, p. 614.

available for religious education. The General Convention of 1789 voted to publish Dr. Smith's sermons; many members of the Convention subscribed for them. They were to be looked on as a "system or body of divinity suited to the minds and apprehensions of the young and those of inferior capacity as well as edifying to those of riper years and more improved understanding." Dr. Smith himself believed that they would be of special use "to heads of families, who may think it their duty to devote the evenings of the Lord's Day to the instruction of their own households."[17] He lived only long enough to prepare two volumes, published in 1802-1803.[18]

Meanwhile, in 1779, the Rev. Jacob Duché, Rector of Christ Church and St. Peter's, Philadelphia, until the Revolution, had published two volumes of discourses; they were printed in London, a fact which must have kept their circulation in this country rather small.[19] In 1798 a volume of sermons by Bishop Seabury was published in New York. The sermons of both Dr. Smith and Bishop Seabury were on the list of books recommended by the House of Bishops, in 1804, for a minister's library.

In 1805 the Rev. Andrew Fowler published a plain and direct *Exposition of the Book of Common Prayer,* which circulated widely.[20] Two years later the Rev. James Abercrombie, Assistant Minister of both Christ Church and St. Peter's, Philadelphia, sent forth his little book of *Lectures on the Catechism, on Confirmation, and the Liturgy of the Protestant Episcopal*

[17] *Jour., Gen. Conv.,* 1789, Bioren reprint, p. 57.

[18] Smith, H. W., *Life of Wm. Smith,* II, pp. 427, 538. The sermon volumes were octavo, published by Hugh Maxwell, Philadelphia.

[19] Duché's work was further discounted because his usefulness in Philadelphia ceased when he sided with England at the outbreak of the Revolution. Otherwise he might have had great influence,—as did his successor, William White.

[20] *Churchman's Magazine,* Aug., 1826, p. 152; *Hobart Correspondence,* V, p. 289.

Church, which had a good circulation.[21] In 1813 Bishop White published a large-sized book of lectures on the Catechism and on other topics of Church interest.[22] This last book is in no great danger of oblivion, for the name of its author is written large in the early history of the Episcopal Church, and all of his words will be treasured accordingly. The other two books are of less famous origin, but they appeared before White's did, and they show some of the conditions and problems of the times, beside being, sermons excepted, among the first distinctly American compositions[23] published as instructions concerning the Episcopal Church.

Fowler's purpose was "to shew the beauty, harmony, excellency, and usefulness of the *Book of Common Prayer;* and to render the whole sufficiently clear and intelligible to the meanest capacity"; for it was "little understood by some and very negligently used by others, even of our own communion." To complete his exposition he had consulted Bishop Sparrow, Dr. Comber, Dr. Nichols, Mr. Bennet, Mr. Nelson, Mr. Wheatly and others. He used the question-and-answer method, because he regarded that as "best adapted to convey instruction, and to impress on the mind the truth which it inculcates."[24] So the book catechizes on through twenty-one chapters, which take up the contents of the Prayer Book in order. Page 307 contains an alphabetical index of the "Ecclesiastical writers cited in this exposition, and the times when they flourished"; the next page notes the names of the Councils cited, and their dates. Then follow six pages of explanations of words and terms; and six more pages containing names of subscribers, grouped according to the cities and towns of their residence.

[21] *Hobart Correspondence,* V, pp. 426, 475, 476.

[22] The full title of the book is *Lectures on the Catechism of the Protestant Episcopal Church, with Supplementary Lectures, one on the Ministry, the other on the publick Service, and Dissertations on Select Subjects in the Lectures.*

[23] Of course they relied a great deal on English authorities.

[24] Fowler, *Exposition of the Book of Common Prayer,* pp. iii-v.

The following questions and answers will give some of the flavor of Fowler's book:

Q.—*May not the so frequent use of* "Good Lord, deliver us," *in the Litany, be justly charged upon us as a tautology, or vain repetition?*

A.—No; for if you take notice, it is every time applied to distinct matter, and consequently makes a distinct prayer. So that it is no more a tautology, or vain repetition, than if any man should, as he certainly must, frequently say in another prayer such words as these, "Grant, O Lord," etc., "We beseech thee," &c.

What is here said of these words, "Good Lord, deliver us," may easily be applied to the following form, "We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord," which has always a respect to the words going before, and every time it is used makes a distinct prayer.

Q.—*What is the antiquity and design of sermons?*

A.—Sermons have been appointed from the beginning of Christianity, to be used on all Sundays and holy-days, but especially when the Lord's Supper was to be administered. For by a pious and practical discourse, suited to the holy communion, the minds of the receivers are put into a devout frame, and made much fitter for the reception of the succeeding mysteries.[25]

A review of the book says: "Works calculated, as this is, to promote and diffuse genuine piety and devotion among ordinary Christians, must meet the approbation of all who wish well to the cause of true religion, and the prevalence of the Gospel of Peace. . . . Its style is well adapted to the capacity of the ordinary plain Christian. It everywhere breathes a spirit of piety and devotion. It is, at the same time, calculated to communicate information concerning the original compilation, and the several reviews that the Book of Common Prayer has undergone . . . the whole is calculated to inform the mind, and bring the reader in love with the service of God."[26]

Some idea of Dr. Abercrombie's book may be gained from the title-page, which reads:

[25] Fowler, *Exposition of the Book of Common Prayer*, pp. 72, 73, 161.
[26] *Churchman's Magazine*, Aug., 1826, pp. 152 ff.

Lectures on the Catechism, on Confirmation, and the Liturgy of the Protestant Episcopal Church; delivered to the Students of that Denomination in the Philadelphia Academy: to which is prefixed the Catechism of said Church, an Appendix and occasional prayers, petitions, Ejaculations and Hymns, with an Address to Parents, Sponsors, and Guardians. Published for the use of that Institution, and of Families belonging to the Episcopal Church, by James Abercrombie, D.D., one of the Assistant Ministers of Christ Church, St. Peter's, and St. James's, and Director of the Academy.[27]

In a rather long introductory address to parents, sponsors and guardians, the author teaches us a great deal about neglect of religious training at the beginning of the nineteenth century. He there says, in part:

Professing Christians, The general and truly lamentable inattention of parents, with respect to the instruction of their children in religious knowledge, induces the present publication.

It is, indeed, a subject of very alarming and distressing observation to every serious, every real Christian, that the rising generation are so cruelly, so criminally, neglected *at home*, as to their spiritual and eternal interests; and that in so high a degree, that it requires not the spirit of prophecy to foretel, that unless an immediate reformation of conduct towards them takes place, they will be a generation of *infidels*. . . . I have been in the practice of examining my pupils once every week in the Catechism of that denomination of Christians to which they respectively belonged. The majority have always been Episcopalians; yet of them I have never found, of the aggregate number, five, who, at their entrance into the Academy, could answer any five questions in the Catechism, or who had received any religious instruction, but that which they had occasionally heard in the Church.

Dreadful, cruel inattention! That in a Christian country, children, many of them youths of fifteen years, the offspring of parents calling

[27] Abercrombie, *Lectures on the Catechism*, 2d ed., title-page. This title is slightly longer than that of the first edition. The book is reviewed at considerable length in the *Churchman's Magazine* for Jan., 1808, and also in the issue for July-Aug., 1808.

themselves Christians, should, at that age, be as ignorant of the principles of the Christian religion, as the savage that roams the wilderness!

O Parents, Sponsors, Guardians! Awake from your spiritual lethargy! . . . Blush at your deficiency. . . . Remember, that their souls are in *your* hands.

A work of a very different kind should be recorded here. In 1809 Mr. Clement C. Moore, son of Bishop Benjamin Moore, of New York, issued a two-volume Hebrew Lexicon. Naturally this was not a book for popular use, but it is remarkable as coming from an Episcopalian source at such an early date. Clement C. Moore was never ordained, but we shall hear of him later as an early benefactor, and as one of the first professors, of the General Theological Seminary.

C. *THE FIRST CHURCH PERIODICALS*

A very important means of spreading religious information was the *Churchman's Monthly*[28] *Magazine or Treasury of Divine and Useful Knowledge,* which was the first, and for a number of years the only, periodical publication of the American Episcopal Church.[29] It began with the number for January, 1804, published at New Haven under the auspices of the Convocation of the Diocese of Connecticut. Its later course was one of decided ups and downs, so that by the time it finally ceased to exist, in 1827, it had changed editors quite frequently, it had been prepared for its readers by various printers in different places[30] and it had suffered demise and had been revived again three times.

[28] After two years the word "Monthly" disappeared from the title.

[29] *Cf.* Beardsley, *Hist. of Episc. Ch. in Conn.,* II, p. 28; *Churchman's Magazine,* Nov., 1804, p. 176; April, 1808, p. 159. As early as 1802 the *Christian Observer* (English) was republished in Boston, monthly, 72 pp. octavo. It was discontinued in 1826. (*Episc. Watchman,* Mar. 7, 1829, p. 408.)

[30] In the first four years, at New Haven, there were three different printers; then the magazine went to New York, then to Elizabethtown, N. J., then it came back to Connecticut,—first to Hartford and then to Middletown.

The magazine was octavo in size; its first issues were sixteen pages monthly, which number gradually increased to forty. It cost a dollar and a half a year. The original plan of conjunct editorship proved to be rather embarrassing at times;[31] after the beginning of 1806 a single editor handled the issues.[32] Just as all was going well on this basis a rival magazine threatened to appear in New York City, under the direction of John Henry Hobart. The *Churchman's Magazine* feared that two similar periodicals could not well exist so near each other and, after some negotiations, discreetly put itself into Hobart's hands and removed to New York. By this expedient it kept its standing among Episcopalians as "the only periodical publication devoted to the interests of their venerable and apostolic church." Beginning in January, 1808, the *Churchman's Magazine* appeared from the press of T. & J. Swords, New York. Hobart gave what had been promised as "new vigor" to it through "great additional aid in the editorial department."[33]

Some idea of the nature of the magazine may be gained from the table of contents of the combined issue for November and December, 1811. First there was a brief "Sketch of the Life of the late Rev. John Parkhurst, A.M.," six pages; then a contributed article, "On the two different Genealogies of our Saviour, as given by St. Matthew and St. Luke," three pages; "An Account of the Labours of the Missionaries in New-Jersey, sent by the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, From Humphrey's Account of the Society," nine pages; "An Analysis of the Rev. Jonathan Edward's Interpretation of the last ten Verses, in the fifth Chapter of the Epistle to the Romans," sixteen pages; "An Account of the Syrian Christians in India, extracted from Buchanan's Christian Researches," a

[31] *Churchman's Magazine,* Apr., 1825, p. 1.

[32] Nothing in the magazine indicated who the editor was, but Beardsley, *Hist. of the Ch. in Conn.,* II, p. 47, identifies him as Tillotson Bronson.

[33] *Churchman's Magazine,* Apr., 1825, p. 1; Nov., 1807, p. 440; Apr., 1808, pp. 159, 160.

THE

Churchman's Monthly Magazine.

[Vol. I.] JANUARY, 1804. [No. 1.]

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" *Et sane cum judicandi vim Deus inseruerit humanæ menti, nulla pars veri*
" *dignior est, in quam ea impendatur, quam illa quæ ignorari sine amittendæ*
" *salutis æternæ periculo non potest.*" GROTIUS DE VER.

Since God has implanted in the human breast the power of judging, no species of truth, upon which it is employed, is of a more dignified nature than that of which we cannot be ignorant without hazarding the loss of eternal salvation.

NEW-HAVEN:

PRINTED AT THE OFFICE OF COMSTOCK, GRISWOLD, & CO.
BY *NATHANIEL CHARTER.*

Reproduction of the first page of the initial number of *The Churchman's Monthly Magazine,* the first native periodical of the Episcopal Church.

little more than fourteen pages; "A Review of Bishop Samuel Horsley's Sermons," published that same year by T. & J. Swords, New York, seven and a half pages; "Life of Bishop Porteus, continued," eight pages; "An account of the Formation, Constitution and Government of the Eastern Diocese, taken from the Diocesan Register and New-England Calendar, for the Year of our Lord and Saviour 1812, published in Dedham, Massachusetts," four pages.

That was the last issue of the magazine for a year. John Henry Hobart, "Proprietor and Editor," elected on May 29, 1811, as Bishop-Coadjutor of New York, had found the duties of his new high office too exacting to permit the necessary attention to the publication; after due consideration, he transferred the *Churchman's Magazine* to his friend, the Rev. John C. Rudd, at Elizabethtown, New Jersey.[34] Mr. Rudd's first issue was that for January-February, 1813; he headed it "New Series" and numbered it Volume I, Number 1. He announced that the magazine would appear on the first day of every second month, seventy or eighty octavo pages, at the former price,—one dollar and a half a year, in advance. It continued through June, 1815, after which it suspended publication;[35] it was revived in 1820 by the clergy of Connecticut.

In January, 1813, the same month that Rudd's new series of the *Churchman's Magazine* started, at Elizabethtown, New Jersey, the *Quarterly Theological Magazine and Religious Repository* began publication at Burlington, in the same state. It was rather ponderously edited, at first "principally by members of the Protestant Episcopal Church," and, beginning with the year 1814, by the Rev. Charles H. Wharton, of Burlington, and the Rev. James Abercrombie, of Philadelphia. Under this new

[34] *Cf.* letter, in McVickar, *Prof. Yrs. of Hobart*, pp. 240-243. It looks as if Hobart had kept his hold on the magazine during that year, unable himself to issue it and waiting for the right man to take it up.

[35] McVickar (*Prof. Yrs. of Hobart*, p. 243) says that the establishment was burned out.

editorial arrangement the place of publication was changed to Philadelphia, but only the January and April numbers appeared. The Prospectus[36] of the magazine had announced the intention of reprinting long selections rather than publishing short original articles. The second number contains lives of St. Polycarp and of Sir Matthew Hale, and Jones's Preface to the *Life of Bishop Horne;* a selection from the *Book of Homilies* and some other sermons; a number of deep theological communications; several articles on such topics as "The Divine Origin of Language," and some items of religious news, both foreign and domestic.[37]

For one year, 1813, the first two magazines of the Church, the *Churchman's Magazine* and the *Quarterly Theological Magazine,* were published in the small state of New Jersey. The latter periodical seems rather heavy to have gained any wide circle of readers; no doubt its removal to Philadelphia had been backed by the hope of increasing its subscription list. The transfer of location gave Philadelphia its first enjoyment, brief though that pleasure was, of issuing periodical Church literature; some years later that city became an active center of magazine publication. In the account of the period from 1815 to 1835, we shall see how Church periodicals arose, not only in Philadelphia, but also in different parts of the country.

D. *CONTROVERSIAL MATERIALS*

The controversies of the time were fewer than they were in colonial days, and they were not quite so acrimonious. One reason for this was the weakened condition of the Episcopal

[36] Printed in Vol. I, No. 1, p. iii.

[37] Vols. I and II were examined at the Yale University Library. As the name indicates, the magazine came out quarterly (Jan., Apr., etc.). The size was octavo. Vol. I, No. 1, had 240 pages, and the next number had 230 pages. The second volume began with the number for July, 1813, which was Vol. II, *No. 3!* Information about the magazine's brief existence in Philadelphia comes from Virgin, E. H., unpublished notes.

Church for a long time after the Revolution. In many quarters the Church seemed like a mere reminiscence of bygone days, an object of pity, hardly worth combating. Numerically, her forces were not great enough to awaken jealous fears. Logically, her position seemed untenable; a Church fitted to the discarded English system of life could have no permanent place in the new country. So it seemed, until champions arose to show that the Church had vitality independent of accidents of location, and sufficient to overmaster a period of great depression. Such a champion was John Henry Hobart. His *Essays on Episcopacy,* taken from their local setting in an Albany newspaper and published for wider circulation in book form in 1806, and his *Apology for Apostolic Order,* published a year later, were assurances that the Church would now stand her ground and be respected, even if not generally approved.

Another strong champion of the Church was the Rev. John Bowden, who issued a series of letters in answer to the Presbyterian claims of the Rev. Dr. Samuel Miller, who was not at all sure that salvation "could come through the Episcopal Church."[38] "When the Church to which I have the happiness to belong is attacked," Bowden says, "I feel no backwardness to exert the little ability I possess, in her defence."[39] Dr. Bowden's course met the approval of many Episcopal ministers.[40] From New Haven, the Rev. Bela Hubbard wrote that Dr. Bowden's *Letters* did good when they were read. Anxious to receive "Dr. Boden's" book, the Rev. James Abercrombie wrote from

[38] The full title of Bowden's discussion was *The Apostolic Origin of Episcopacy asserted, in a Series of Letters addressed to the Rev. Dr. Miller, one of the Pastors of the United Presbyterian Churches in the City of New York,* A.D. *1808, by the Rev. John Bowden, D.D., Professor of Moral Philosophy, Logic and Belles Lettres in Columbia College,—audi alteram partem.* Others who entered this controversy were the Rev. Thomas Y. How, Assistant Minister at Trinity Church, New York, and the Rev. James Kemp, afterward Bishop of Maryland. Naturally Hobart's essays were often invoked.

[39] Bowden, *Apostolic Origin of Episcopacy,* pp. 328, 329.

[40] The controversy even reached London; Dr. Bowden's "Letters" were reprinted there (Chase, *Rem.,* II, p. 293).

Philadelphia saying that he hoped it would put an end to "all opposers of Episcopacy." After being "instructed, entertained and greatly edified" by reading it, he declared that it was "unanswerable." James D. Simons, writing from Charleston, said, "Dr. Bowden has I imagine given the Death Blow to Presbyterianism."[41]

No doubt some of the other literature already mentioned, both English and American, was used controversially. Leslie's *Short and Easie Method with the Deists,* and Jones's *Essay on the Church,* particularly the last part, concerning the Dissenters, were designed as weapons to employ in disputation when needed. Some of the tracts of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge were decidedly controversial. *A Serious Address to Seceders and Sectarists* could be nothing else; the same must be said of *Dangers and Mischiefs of Popery* and of the two anti-Methodist tracts, *Caution against Enthusiasm* and *An Earnest and Affectionate Address to Methodists.*

The Methodists continued to be somewhat of a thorn in the Episcopal flesh. A quotation from Bishop Horsley's charge to his clergy expresses well the general attitude of Episcopalians toward this active body: "The great crime and folly of the Methodists consist not so much in heterodoxy as fanaticism; not in perverse doctrine, but rather in a perverse zeal for the propagation of the truth; which is the pretence for that irregular ministry which is exercised by their teachers, encouraged by the leaders of the sect, and greedily followed by the people."[42] A letter written from Talbot County, Maryland, September 22, 1806, tells of a Methodist camp meeting. "This Day," Joseph Jackson wrote, "ends a notable Camp-meeting (among the Meth$^{st.}$) . . . This monstrous affair began on Thursday Evening, the 18th. inst., & has continued without much Intermission Day and Night—an incessant Work of Folly & Mad-

[41] *Hobart Correspondence,* VI, pp. 101; 85, 105; 129.
[42] *Churchman's Magazine,* VIII, p. 112.

ness. . . . The Church-Folks stand quite amazed, some of whom have been silly enough to add their Presence to a wretched Crowd. . . . The Town of Easton has been stunned with Howls & Yells." To counteract this, Mr. Jackson asked for *A Dialogue between a Churchman and a Methodist;* also, he inquired about the value of Owen's *Methodism Unmasked.*[43]

These controversial materials reflect the religious atmosphere of the time. Episcopacy was a natural bone of contention. A host of followers, no doubt, supported Dr. Miller's attacks on the Episcopal system; on the other hand, there was delight in the Episcopal camp over Dr. Bowden's metaphorical "death blow" delivered to Presbyterianism. It also seems likely that some of the weapons used against Quakers in colonial days were kept sharp after the Revolution, but probably the need for them was less urgent. Certainly the Methodists had not been discomfited by *An Earnest and Affectionate Address* to them, nor did they take any pains to heed the *Caution against Enthusiasm.* These two essays are listed with tracts still current at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Owen's *Methodism Unmasked* sounds as conclusive as the *Short and Easie Method with the Deists,*—as though Methodism were some baneful secret organization which would collapse now that it had been so bravely exposed! Although Jones's *Essay on the Church* gave due attention to dissenters and their errors, it did not stop with mere refutation; it built up a positive theory of the Church. In this last respect it was typical of the bulk of the material used at the time, most of which, like Jones's *Essay,* did much good for the struggling Episcopal Church.

[43] *Hobart Correspondence,* V, pp. 187-189.

CONCLUSION

A PERIOD OF TRANSITION

FROM what has been said it seems clear that the Episcopal Church, disrupted though she was, believed that her foundations were secure and that her hope lay in plodding along expectantly until her essential nature should be better understood. At this crucial time, following the political break with England, it was most fortunate that American publications began to appear. Even though the hand-books of Abercrombie and Fowler and Hobart would have been rather thin without the English material which went into them, yet the fact that they had been written or compiled, and published, as American books helped to make Episcopalians feel gratified that their Church could be thus adjusted to American conditions, and to make others realize that the Episcopal Church was not going to wither down in an American atmosphere.

The year 1804 marked a great change in authorship of materials used to educate people about religion and the Church. Previous to that year the tracts and the books for this purpose were all English, except the published sermons of Bishop Seabury and of William Smith. This we have already seen. A good illustration appears, however, in a deceased clergyman's library which was offered for sale in this very same year, 1804. Not an American name appears on the list; the library could not have been more English if the man had lived in Devonshire or in Kent.[1] But the same year Hobart issued his first two *Companions,* one *for the Altar* and the other *for the Festivals and Fasts,* and in January of that year the *Churchman's Magazine* had started on its career. These publications, although some-

[1] *Cf. Hobart Correspondence,* III, pp. 422, 423, for the list of books and prices asked. The clergyman was a Mr. Green, who died in New London, Conn.

what rich in English material, had to be American in their essence because they were published for American readers.

From a strategic point of view the *Churchman's Magazine* was useful because the matter printed in it helped to clear up and unify thought concerning the Episcopal Church at this critical time when she was trying to fit herself to democratic conditions in the new nation. By reading the magazine, Episcopalians and others who were interested could discern the true spirit of the Church, which some still deemed quite superfluous in a country now politically independent of England. News of conventions and of other Church activities in different parts of the country; views presented by correspondents; Church history and biography; explanations of the Prayer Book, of Episcopacy and of the Articles of the Church,—these and other kindred matters that filled the pages of the *Churchman's Magazine* were materials for careful thought both within and without the Episcopal Church. From 1804 until the year 1813 this was the only periodical of the Episcopal Church; it was the one body of material about the Church toward which people in general could look for current information, and round which true and definite ideas of the Episcopal Church could form.

Meanwhile the old religious motive in education was rapidly disappearing. A church-controlled body of schoolmasters had become a thing of the past. The fields of education and of religion still overlapped somewhat in the cases of ministers who now taught school. For instance, both before ordination and afterward Philander Chase turned to schoolteaching as a natural occupation. However, such individual undertakings by no means made up for the passing of the religious monopoly of education. The changed situation is well illustrated in the Rev. Mr. Rudd's attempts to keep the influence of the Church about her young men by taking them under his roof as boarders while they were students at the neighboring academy. Such

diminutions of Church control of education were common all over the country.

Mr. Rudd's name should be further remembered as that of the man who for a time was editor of the first periodical of the Episcopal Church, the *Churchman's Magazine,* established in Connecticut in 1804, and who later started a paper in Auburn, New York, the *Gospel Messenger,* which for many years appeared regularly as an efficient medium of religious knowledge. Some other names mentioned were even more illustrious. Dr. William Smith, as head of the Philadelphia College and as founder of Washington College, in Maryland, brought academic honor to the Church of which he was a minister; also, it was he who, in a quandary as to a name for the Church in its changed political environment, gave it the title which has clung to it,—"The Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America." To many, the name John Henry Hobart suggests a brilliant and wise young administrator of the great Diocese of New York; he was all of that, and in addition his educational accomplishments were of incalculable benefit to the entire Church. When the people needed instructions concerning the Church, it was Hobart who published various *Companions* for the purpose of giving those instructions. At the time when the distinctive principles of the Church were in grave danger of obliteration, Hobart insisted on a wide distribution of Prayer Books and of tracts composed for enlightenment in Church matters. His name became fixed on "Hobart" College, because of his large share in the founding of that institution; and one cannot write the early history of the General Theological Seminary without frequent mention of the name of Hobart. Pains have been taken to emphasize Philander Chase's active participation in the educational affairs of the time; so far, however, his accomplishments in that direction have been slight compared with what we have yet to learn of him.

It was to be expected that the idea of education as a form of

charity should continue on into this period. That was the view which had come from England to the colonies, and it continued through mere inertia, and the lack, so far, of a better point of view. It implied a rather definite separation of people into classes, some privileged enough to enable them to dole out gratuities for the less fortunate. Although this system of patronage, on the one hand, and corresponding subservience, on the other, is abhorrent to us now, there is a crumb of comfort in the fact that charity warmed up at all to the matter of education. Charity might have been satisfied merely to clothe and feed the wretched members of society; but by striving for education as well, even though of a rather low standard and for a limited number, it recognized the value of educational advantages. Logically, the step from that position to the broader one of education for all was not very great. If the few received evident benefits from being educated, then the many, too, might be thus improved and the whole body politic be advanced in proportion.

In another matter charity operated to extend public education,—in the starting of Sunday Schools. It is not our purpose to review the Sunday School movement as it was begun in England by Robert Raikes, in 1780; we see it in slightly modified form coming to Philadelphia under the leadership of Bishop White and a few others. *The First Day or Sunday School Society,* organized in Philadelphia in 1791, was "charitable" in its purpose, affording to the masses the rudiments of an education. Like charity applied to training on week days, this form of charity soon demonstrated the value of more extensive opportunities for education. The spirit of the whole public school system is in the petition to the Legislature, based on the already demonstrated value of spreading the "blessings of illumination among the masses," asking for the establishment of schools at public expense.

Sunday Schools in America eventually outgrew the charity

theory nor did they wait long to substitute purely religious teaching for the secular branches of learning. When a Sunday School was started in Hudson, New York, in 1803, it was a "charity" school, but soon the Sunday School of religious instruction grew up and flourished in the land. At the beginning of the next period we shall see it starting its amazingly successful career, and shall follow its course as it sweeps aside every other means of training the young in religion.

Third Period: 1815-1835.

A Time of Expansion.

INTRODUCTION

A TIME OF EXPANSION

"EXPANSION" is the word to use to characterize the entire period from 1815 to 1835; during that time the Episcopal Church recovered from her supineness and, not satisfied with mere verbal apologies, turned to aggressive deeds which manifested her intention to strengthen her foundations and reach out to conquer new fields. We saw that organizations for spreading knowledge about Christianity and the Church began to spring up shortly after the opening of the nineteenth century. In this period ending in 1835, not only did these organizations, which had been rather weak and mild at first, as befitted the general condition of the Church, acquire strength and effectiveness, but also new ones multiplied all through the settled parts of the country. An article on the subject published at the beginning of the year 1817 showed that there were then nine Bible and Common Prayer Book Societies in the Diocese of New York, two in New Jersey and one in Connecticut; during the year 1816 the writer of the article had learned of new Episcopal Missionary Societies in Philadelphia, New York, Newark and in Delaware, of a Tract Society in Boston, of a Prayer Book and Tract Society in Newport, of Female Prayer Book and Tract Societies in Albany and in Baltimore, and of a Prayer Book and Tract Society in Virginia.[1]

Such organizations were bound to be useful. By 1823 the Episcopal *Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge and Piety* in New Jersey had "succeeded beyond calculation." In addition to the distribution of large numbers of Bibles, Prayer Books and tracts, the organization had acquired a per-

[1] The *Christian Register*, Jan., 1817, pp. 485, 486.

manent fund of more than a thousand dollars.[2] *The Protestant Episcopal Society for the Advancement of Christianity in South Carolina* had existed only a few years when, in 1821, it reported prospering "in an unexampled manner"; it had revived some decayed parishes and was helping to support several ministers, beside publishing and distributing tracts of instruction, among which was a Catechism in explanation of the official one in the Prayer Book.[3] By 1831 the *New York Bible and Common Prayer Book Society,* which had been started in 1809, could report: "At no period since the formation of this Society has there been a greater and more constant demand upon us from all quarters of our vastly extended country." In the twenty years of the organization's existence it had given away a total of 55,890 books; in the twelve months just ended it had donated 352 Bibles, 384 Testaments, 3067 Prayer Books and 875 Hymnals.[4] *The Society for Promoting Religion and Learning,* mentioned as having been organized in New York as early as 1802, operated with continuous prosperity; by 1826 it was expending from three to four thousand dollars a year.[5]

In addition to organizations like these, many Sunday School Societies now came into being.[6] Each Sunday School, especially in the early days, formed an independent organization and, with its Superintendent and its corps of officers, was operated accordingly. Presently groups of these Sunday School units found inspiration and efficiency in banding together to form larger societies; such organizations began in New York and in Philadelphia in 1817, and in Charleston, South Carolina, two years later. Other similar organizations sprang up in different parts of the country, until the Sunday School movement had taken

[2] The *Churchman's Magazine,* Nov., 1823, p. 350.
[3] *Ibid.,* Oct., 1821, p. 318.
[4] Lowndes, *A Century of Achievement,* I, p. 369.
[5] *Jour., Gen. Conv.,* 1826, p. 37.
[6] Episcopal Sunday Schools for the teaching of religion began in 1815, or, it is barely possible, in 1814. They are to be discussed soon.

its place as one of the most vital factors in the life of the Church. In 1826 the General Protestant Episcopal Sunday School Union began its work of stimulating the Sunday Schools throughout the Church, partly by direct action and partly through encouraging the formation of Sunday School Societies in parishes and in manageable areas.

It was in this period that theological education was transferred from the private and semiprivate domain of Bishops and Clergymen to the official care of seminaries founded for that purpose. The General Theological Seminary, in New York City, was the first to be established. Although this was intended as a training school for the entire Church, other seminaries grew up to meet local needs in various parts of the country. Virginia and Maryland both wanted such institutions; Virginia went ahead with her plans, but the Bishop of Maryland would not approve of having a seminary in his Diocese. In Ohio, Bishop Philander Chase perceived that his only hope of success in that new country lay in the developing of ministers right on the ground where they would do their work. Translating his belief into definite action, he founded Kenyon College, which was the name generally used in those early days for the educational institution at Gambier to which he looked for his ministers. Bristol College, at Bristol, Pennsylvania, was another devout institution planned to educate future clergymen; its particular feature was compulsory manual labor. For a few years there were many students at Bristol, but financial stringencies allowed this humble college only a brief existence. In western Pennsylvania the Rev. John Henry Hopkins tried, without success, to establish a theological seminary near Pittsburgh; finding the Diocese of Massachusetts ready to establish a divinity school, he removed to Cambridge and started a theological class which was to be the nucleus of an official Diocesan Seminary. Before matters had proceeded very far, Hopkins became the first Bishop of Vermont; his removal ended the Massachusetts proj-

ect and started a fresh series of educational ventures in his new field of work. In Kentucky a Diocesan Seminary instituted at Lexington with fair prospects came to grief almost immediately. As early as the year 1832 there was some talk of a seminary in Tennessee, but a quarter of a century elapsed before this hope was in any way realized.[7] There were at least two schools started to train young colored men for work as missionaries and teachers in Africa, especially in Liberia,—one school in Hartford and the other near Washington; these institutions accomplished very little and died young.

Some other Church colleges and some schools came into being during this period of expansion. *Kenyon College* has just been mentioned as Bishop Chase's hope for an efficient group of clergy in Ohio. *Geneva College,* later called "Hobart," was a product of this time, as was also *Washington* (afterward named *Trinity*) *College* in Hartford. A college which might have been more of an Episcopal institution than it proved to be was *Worthington College,* which for a short time was under the influence of Bishop Chase when he lived in Worthington. Of the schools below the grade of a college, by far the most important was the *Flushing Institute,* at Flushing, Long Island, opened in 1828 by the Rev. William Augustus Muhlenberg. He conducted the institution as a big Christian family, on a strictly paternalistic plan. This idea was copied far and near, and for a long time was used by colleges as well as by schools. An Episcopal School at Raleigh, North Carolina, for instance, observed every detail, as far as possible, of Muhlenberg's plans for the *Flushing Institute.* This was the time, too, of academies and of other smaller institutions which were able to keep something like a personal hold on students.

We should remember that there was no longer any general

[7] The first definite steps toward the establishment of the University of the South, at Sewanee, Tenn., were taken on July 1, 1856, when Bishop Polk, of Louisiana, sent letters to the Bishops of the Southern Dioceses proposing such an institution.

recognition of Church leadership and control in school matters. From a secular standpoint, the value of education had now become established. People outside the pale of the Church, and Church people thinking and acting in extraecclesiastical capacity, were turning their attention more and more to the hope offered by a more general education of the masses. Cubberley notes the comparatively advanced educational views of George Washington and other leaders at the end of the eighteenth century.[8] When the new century was well under way, leaders like Governor Clinton, of New York, were beginning to rely on the ameliorating powers of general education. By 1825 nonsectarian public schools, supported by the taxes of the people, were the hope of educational reformers; a "battle" for this kind of school was on.[9]

The expanding life of the Church in the period from 1815 to 1835 is to be seen clearly in the increase of Church literature. As has been explained, the first Church periodical was the *Churchman's Magazine,* which started in New Haven in 1804. By the time it had finished its uneven career, in 1827, Church magazines had been started in New York, Philadelphia, Washington, Charleston, Middlebury (Vermont), Newburyport (Massachusetts) and Boston. These were intended mostly as publications for the Church at large; distinctly local magazines, too, began to appear, as well as other general Church publications, so that, as we shall see, by the year 1835 there were many Episcopal periodicals. Although they varied in size and in merit, as well as in points of view, they all served to increase knowledge about religion and the Episcopal Church. At the same time, literature for young people was multiplying; these were the days when Sunday Schools for the teaching of religion were springing up all over the country. There were not only the lesson materials, but also little books to be given out as pre-

[8] *Cf.* Cubberley, *Pub. Ed. in U. S.,* pp. 57, 58.
[9] Cubberley, *Pub. Ed. in U. S.,* pp. 112 ff.

miums or to be loaned through Sunday School Libraries; among these we find such titles as *The Orphan Boy* and *Mary, the Milkmaid.* Books for older people, too, were bringing religious instruction to the fireside. Some of the standard works, particularly those involving research, were still either imported from England or else reprinted in the United States. However, beginning with the year 1804, as has been stated, American publications became less and less a novelty; by the year 1835 a clergyman could put into the hands of the people books by American authors covering all matters of Church instruction. Furthermore, the religious poetry of Mrs. Sigourney, George Burgess, William Croswell and George W. Doane had added grace to the body of printed materials which the American Church could now exhibit.

If the Church was losing control of schools in general, she was nevertheless acquiring some extraordinary educational opportunities in the Sunday Schools with religious curricula which began in 1815. Their rapid growth and their constantly increasing yield of religious power seemed to atone for the Church's loss of hold on the week-day schools. Until public schools taught all the children to read, it was necessary for the Sunday Schools to teach the alphabet and to give simple reading lessons. How else could all the children learn to read the Bible and to use the Prayer Book? Because untrained children gathered in from the streets were necessarily somewhat uncouth, to say the least, the Sunday Schools had much to say about manners as well as morals. It was natural that at first there should be a great deal of patronage by the upper classes and many references to this charity[10] done for the children of the poor. Inspiring it all, however, was the religious impulse, which never wavered and which pervaded all the Episcopal Sunday Schools.

[10] The theory of the early Sunday Schools, discussed later, will show the prevalence of the charity idea. *Cf. infra,* pp. 160-164 ff.

XIII.

THE RISE OF SUNDAY SCHOOLS

A. *THE SUNDAY SCHOOL BECOMES A MEANS OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION*

1. CHANGING AIMS IN SUNDAY SCHOOL TEACHING

SUNDAY Schools began in England as a form of social service, teaching the children of the poor their letters at a time when there were few or no public schools to meet the crying need of such instruction. In Philadelphia, as we have seen, Bishop White suggested opening Sunday Schools like those of Robert Raikes. In 1791 the "First Day Society" was formed in Philadelphia to establish schools, meeting on Sunday, to educate the rising generation; of this organization, Bishop White was long the President. Although the schools (which were undenominational) under the auspices of this society used Bibles, they employed them as available reading books rather than as purely religious material. Shortly after the beginning of the new century, however, religion came to be the motive of Sunday Schools, which were then taken over and operated by the churches. A good account of the change to the purely religious aims in Sunday School work appears in the records of the "First Day Society." In June, 1815, the same month that Christ Church Sunday School, Boston,[1] was opened, the Visiting Committee of the "First Day Society," Philadelphia, reported that at the school in Coates Street only five girls and three boys were present when they made their visitation. Most of the former scholars, the teachers explained, had gone over to a school recently opened on the same street, taught by a number of "pious young men and women." This matter-of-fact

[1] *Cf. infra,* pp. 152, 222.

report shows the change in Philadelphia from the old to the new, from the Sunday School as a provider of mental pabulum for unfortunately born youth, and a corrector of mere morals, to the Sunday School as an instrument of religious education. A year later the Visiting Committee received orders to pay particular attention to the city schools, and "if the present falling-off should continue," to close the schools. By another year, in the neighborhood of the Coates Street School, there were two religious societies with Sunday Schools whose vigilant teachers were taking their scholars with them to their places of worship.[2]

This account of Sunday School conditions in Philadelphia may be taken as typical of the changing general situation, in which the Episcopal Church had its share. Hardly had Sunday Schools been started in New Jersey, for instance, when Bishop Croes observed that they were spending time for religious instruction as well as for reading.[3] By 1835 a Philadelphia rector said of his flourishing Sunday Schools, "few can be found in which a greater amount of religious instruction is communicated."[4] A happy illustration of the change to the religious motive appears in the case of Christ Church, Hudson, New York. On January 5, 1803, that church had started a Sunday "Charity" School, which continued for several years. In 1822 they organized a Sunday School "to perfect the children of the Congregation, or others, in the knowledge of the Catechism of the Church; to promote reading of the Holy Scripture; and to teach those to read who were not otherwise taught."[5] The charity idea had vanished; religion had now become the motive of the school. Bishop Brownell's interpretation of the aims of Sunday Schools of the time in his Diocese of Connecticut could be taken as a fair statement of Sunday School pur-

[2] *A Century of the First Day Society,* pp. 18-20.

[3] *Jour., N. J.,* 1817, p. 8.

[4] *Jour., Pa.,* 1835, p. 51, report of Rev. S. A. McCoskrey, Rector of St. Paul's Church, Philadelphia.

[5] *Second An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.,* p. 55.

poses throughout the Church. He said that the object of these schools was "to withdraw the young from profane amusements, or a thoughtless indolence, on the Lord's Day; to assemble them together for religious worship; to store their minds with the elements of Christian knowledge; to excite in their hearts devout affections; and to familiarize them to [!] the pious and evangelical Services of our Liturgy."[6] In South Carolina "the grand object of our Sunday Schools is religious instruction imparted under the authority and direction of the Church."[7]

2. EARLY EPISCOPAL SUNDAY SCHOOLS

Just which was the first Episcopal Sunday School in actual operation, we do not know. Michael states that a school started by James Milnor and Jackson Kemper, Bishop White's assistant ministers, in 1814, in Commissioners' Hall in the Northern Liberties of Philadelphia, which was the nucleus of St. John's Parish, was the first Sunday School officially incorporated by a religious organization.[8] "In the very beginning of Sunday Schools in this country," a Princeton student, while home on a vacation in Philadelphia, attended a Sunday School there and afterward described it to his college mates. Four of them were so taken with the idea that they started four Sunday Schools in Princeton and its suburbs. Two of these young men were Charles P. McIlvaine, who later succeeded Philander Chase as Bishop of Ohio, and John Johns, another future Bishop. In the spring of 1816 the former organized a Sunday School in his home church, St. Mary's, Burlington, New Jersey.[9] By this time Sunday Schools must have been comparatively well known in New Jersey, for the Rev. Samuel H. Turner, professor in the

[6] *Jour., Conn.*, 1820, p. 10.

[7] First An. Rep. P. E. S. S. Soc. of Charleston, in *Christian Journal*, Jan., 1822, p. 19.

[8] Michael, O. S., *The Sunday School in the Development of the American Church*, pp. 64, 293.

[9] Hills, *Hist. of the Ch. in Burlington*, pp. 383, 393.

General Theological Seminary, referring to the school which he had started early in 1815, in Chestertown, Maryland, states that it, with the Sunday School at Swedesborough, New Jersey, was among the first in the Church.[10] On June 4, 1815, Christ Church, Boston, opened a Sunday School.[11] On account of the novelty of the idea and the slender denominational requirements of the school, it grew rapidly. By another year, however, other churches had opened schools of their own and the enrollment at Christ Church Sunday School decreased. In connection with the school there was a *Youth's Manual,* containing the Church Catechism and a form of prayer to be used by the children.[12]

The school's plan of operation is interesting not only in itself, but even more because in its developed form it was the scheme which the *General Protestant Episcopal Sunday School Union,* organized in 1826, adopted as its model and recommended to the Sunday Schools throughout the Church.[13] The children met at eight o'clock on Sunday mornings, and again at half-past one in the afternoon. After the morning opening exercises, which lasted fifteen minutes, there were six five-minute periods of reciting Catechism and prayers in unison, and four lesson periods of fifteen minutes each. The last quarter of an hour, until ten o'clock, was used for the closing exercises, during

[10] Turner, *Autobiography,* pp. 50, 51.

[11] On the walls near the vestry room of Christ Church is a framed original list of officers and scholars of the school on Dec. 4, 1817, which the writer has examined carefully. The heading is, "Salem Street Sunday School." There are names of 122 children on the list. In the address column there are such picturesque names as Henchman's Lane, Fish Street, Methodist Alley, Love Lane, Sun Court Street and White Bread Alley. The school was held in a near-by academy building, which was partly owned by Christ Church.

[12] Matthews, A., *Early Sunday Schools in Boston;* in Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, XXI, Transactions of 1919, pp. 273-275.

The Library of the Boston Athenæum has a copy of the *Youth's Manual* for 1816, but it has no reference to Christ Church (letter from the librarian to the writer). The *Manual* was started in 1808, when the idea of having a Sunday School began to form.

[13] *Second An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.,* p. 35.

which a missionary box was passed. The afternoon session was fifteen minutes shorter; its activities were much like those of the morning, even to the passing of the missionary box again.[14]

Another Sunday School, or group of Sunday Schools, which helped to fasten on a parish lasting traditions of excellence in Sunday School work were those connected with St. George's Church, in New York City. When the New York Sunday School Union was formed, in February, 1816, a young man of the parish named Jeremiah H. Taylor went to the Rector, Mr. Kewley, to see about starting a Sunday School in St. George's. The Rector would have nothing to do with it, so Mr. Taylor, seeking elsewhere, awakened the interest of three other men.[15] Together they rented a room at 31 Gold Street, and on the tenth of March started a school,[16] which in a few weeks contained sixty children. In connection with the school they held prayer meetings on Friday nights.[15] Before long the school moved to a larger room, at 37 Cherry Street.[16] Meanwhile, on April 16, 1816,[16] eight women met in a schoolroom on John Street to form a similar school for girls.[15] This girls' school was opened on the twentieth of April, at 53 John Street.[16] It grew so large that it was transferred to the church.[15] Each of these schools had two Sunday sessions,—from half-past eight to ten o'clock in the morning, and again from one to half-past two in the afternoon.[16]

Just when these schools needed oversight, Kewley resigned; the Rev. James Milnor, assistant to Bishop White, in Philadelphia, came to St. George's as Rector.[17] In the spring of 1817

[14] Bolton, Ethel S., Article in *Christ Church Chronicle,* I, No. 3 (Jan., 1916), p. 2.

[15] Anstice, *Hist. of St. George's Ch.,* pp. 88-90.

[16] *Historical Appendix to Milnor's Address delivered at the opening of St. George's S. S. Building,* pp. 23 ff.

[17] Anstice, *op. cit.,* p. 85. Milnor was instituted as Rector on Sept. 30, 1816. Under Bishop White he had already done enthusiastic Sunday School work in Philadelphia. Kewley had formerly been a priest of the Roman Church; upon leaving St. George's, he sailed for Europe with the intention of returning to that fold.

the Vestry authorized the erection of a Sunday School building[15] on Cliff Street,[16] in the rear of the church, to be twenty-two and one-half feet front by fifty feet deep, or such other size as the committee should consider proper. The upper room was for the female Sunday School, and for such "congregational" purposes as might be required by the Rector; the lower room belonged to the male Sunday School.[15] Each room had a separate entrance.[16] The building was formally opened on Sunday afternoon, November 9, 1817. In the upper room were gathered the Vestry, the officers, teachers and children of the Sunday Schools, the officers of the *New York Sunday School Union,* and a number of "respectable" visitors. After prayers and an address by the Rector, and a hymn sung by the children, they all proceeded to the church, where a large congregation had gathered. The children marched in procession through the center aisle to the seats which had been prepared for them in the gallery. After some prayers and a Psalm, the children and the teachers sang a hymn responsively. Then the Rector made a longer address, after which the closing hymn was sung by the children and the congregation responsively, and the people departed with a benediction.[18]

In the female school there were two superintendents, sixteen teachers, five junior teachers, and one hundred and thirty-three pupils; the male school had two superintendents, nineteen teachers, three junior teachers, and one hundred and twenty-four pupils. The female school was number six under the larger "Society for the Promotion of Female Sabbath Schools"; the boys' school was number ten of the "New York Sunday School Union Society."[19] These were undenominational organizations; when the *New York Protestant Episcopal Sunday School So-*

[18] *Hist. Appendix to Milnor's Address at the opening of St. George's S. S. Building,* pp. 24 ff. Portions of the hymns sung are printed on pp. 173-175, *infra.*
[19] *Ibid.,* pp. 23, 24.

ciety was organized, in 1817, these schools of St. George's Church refused to join it.

In November, 1817, some laymen of St. George's organized Sunday School number 34 (of the undenominational union), for colored men. Very soon there were nine teachers, five assistants and seventy-four scholars. They met on Rose Street in rooms freely loaned to them by the Society of Friends. Another school was organized for white adults. By the beginning of 1820, then, St. George's had four schools, with sixty teachers and four hundred and seventy-four scholars. Later still, the parish started two more Sunday Schools, one for colored boys and one for colored women and girls. In 1824, after the completion of the public school on Duane Street, the three colored Sunday Schools met there.[20]

In Charleston, South Carolina, Episcopal Sunday School work began in 1817, when the Episcopal Churches there opened a union school in charge of the Rev. Andrew Fowler. There were one hundred and twenty white boys and girls, and eighty black children, who met at a different hour. The work was under a superintendent and eight teachers. Those who started the Sunday School organization believed it was "one of the best charities in which Christians can be engaged." They pledged themselves to pay a dollar every quarter for the support of a Catechist or instructor, who was to "attend, on Sundays, from eight to ten o'clock in the morning and two hours in the evening, either before or after divine service, as shall be found expedient, a Sunday School, for the purpose of instructing the children, or others who shall be gathered in the school, in all the doctrines and precepts of the Redeemer." This plan of combined Episcopal efforts continued for two years, at the end of which time it seemed best for each congregation to have its own Sunday School.[21]

[20] Anstice, *op. cit.*, pp. 89, 90.
[21] Gadsden, *Life of Bishop Dehon*, pp. 206, 207.

In October, 1818, a few individuals hired a room and began a Sunday School on Federal Hill, Baltimore, in a hitherto neglected part of the city where there were no churches and where the children of the working people who lived there were growing up without even parental control. The school increased so rapidly that those in charge felt justified in erecting a small building for it. The immediate subscription of the thousand dollars asked for by the leaders encouraged them to enlarge their venture and "draw on the bank of faith" for any deficiency. On June 12, 1819, the new building, 40 by 80 feet, was put into use. The very next night, however, it burned to the ground. Undismayed, the devout backers of the project replaced the building. "Every hand was opened wide to aid in the work of restoration," which cost two thousand dollars.

There was one large room, with five windows on each side and a rostrum in front, adorned with a mahogany railing and crimson hangings. Benches on the floor and along the walls provided seats. In less than a year one hundred and ninety-two boys had enrolled, of whom more than a hundred attended regularly. Up to Easter Day they had "committed and recited no less than 17,877 verses of Scripture, &c." In addition to the Sunday School there were Episcopal services morning and evening on Sundays, and prayer meetings on Monday and Thursday nights.[22]

After this manner were Sunday Schools born; they were now becoming general. New Jersey, for instance, had not been slow in such matters; in 1817 that state had several Episcopal Sunday Schools, most of which had been established by women.[23] By 1820 an Episcopal Church without a Sunday School was an exception; Rhode Island, for example, had Sunday Schools in

[22] *Washington Theological Repertory*, I, No. 12, pp. 380-383, Article written by "A Subscriber."

[23] *Jour., Gen. Conv.*, 1817, p. 26.

all its parishes, and North Carolina had them in nearly all.[24] In Connecticut they had been generally established.[25]

3. LOCAL SUNDAY SCHOOL SOCIETIES

The work was greatly furthered by the organization of local groups of schools into Sunday School Societies. In Philadelphia the *First Day Society* had been organized in 1791 to establish schools, meeting on Sundays, to teach reading and writing; now Sunday Schools that were starting up all over the country to teach religion were banding themselves together for mutual encouragement and strength. These larger organizations had the usual officers and committees; affiliated Sunday Schools reported to them; they planned reunions, with sermons and addresses. Obviously, in sparsely settled regions it was difficult, and in many cases impossible, to form such organizations; but in the larger cities where there were several schools it was comparatively easy to group them together in Sunday School Societies. In Philadelphia and in New York, for instance, the early organization of these societies was natural. In Charleston, South Carolina, as has been said, the Episcopal churches began their Sunday School work in 1817 with a union school; two years later, however, each church took over its own children and a *Charleston Sunday School Society* was formed.

The Protestant Episcopal Sunday School Society of Philadelphia was organized in 1817.[26] In 1819 there were eight Sunday Schools of Philadelphia, and several from varying distances out of town, in union with this society, containing more than sixteen hundred children. In one year the society had published two thousand copies of the Catechism, the same number of Sunday School Hymn Books, and one hundred thousand Reward Tickets. The Publishing Committee consisted of the Rev.

[24] *Jour., Gen. Conv.*, 1820, pp. 25, 37.
[25] *Jour., Conn.*, 1820, p. 10.
[26] The Second Annual Report is dated 1819.

Messrs. William A. Muhlenberg and Jackson Kemper, men destined to great prominence in the history of the Church. Schools that were auxiliary to the society could buy its publications at cost price.[27] This advantage attracted to membership a Sunday School in Wilmington, Delaware, as well as schools in Germantown, Wilkes-Barre, Huntingdon and Bristol, Pennsylvania.[28]

The New York Protestant Episcopal Sunday School Society was organized in February, 1817. Its first auxiliaries were the schools of Trinity Church, St. Paul's and St. John's Chapels, Grace Church and St. Mark's Church. At the end of 1817 the white and the colored children in these schools numbered seven hundred and one. In less than a year the society had published eight thousand alphabet and simple word cards, two thousand copies of the London Sunday School Union *Spelling Book,* and two thousand copies of Bishop Gastrell's *Christian Institutes,* a series of Gospel Texts. The organization had purchased for the use of the schools one hundred and sixty-seven Prayer Books, eight hundred and seventeen Catechisms, seven hundred and forty Primers, and a number of small books to be given as premiums; in addition, the *Auxiliary New York Bible and Common Prayer Book Society* had donated to the organization thirty-seven Bibles and one hundred and thirty-two Prayer Books.[29] By 1824 there were thirteen schools in union with the society, representing nineteen hundred and one children. Sunday Schools were now seen to be an effective means of adding to Church membership.[30] In 1831 the society embraced four thousand two hundred and eight Sunday School scholars be-

[27] Sunday Schools in union with the society were granted books and tracts, figured at *first cost,* to the amount of their annual payments to the society. If more literature than this was needed, it could be bought at a little more than cost, but less than the price to schools not members of the society.

[28] *Second An. Rep., P. E. S. S. Soc. of Phila.,* pp. 10-19.

[29] First An. Rep., Bd. Mgrs., N. Y. P. E. S. S. Soc., appended to Hobart's *Address on Beneficial Effects of S. S.,* p. 34.

[30] *Seventh An. Rep., Bd. Mgrs., N. Y. P. E. S. S. Soc.,* pp. 1, 7.

longing to twenty schools. The report for this year 1831 contains a plea for more general attendance of the children of the well-to-do,[31] and some remarks in commendation of Sunday School libraries. The accounts of the society showed that the deficit was growing larger. Sums of a dollar or more would be entered as annual subscriptions; a payment of ten dollars made a person a member for life, and of twenty dollars a manager for life.[32] In 1835, the organization could report the following: schools, 29; teachers, 692; scholars, 6,954; library books, 11,981.[33]

The Charleston Protestant Episcopal Sunday School Society, organized in the summer of 1819,[34] comprised upward of three hundred and fifty children, in the parishes of St. Michael's and St. Philip's, and of St. Paul's (Radcliffeborough). These Sunday Schools were for instruction in religion under the direction of the Church. Up to the summer of 1821, the society had not been successful in establishing a library for the children, but it had taught them the Liturgy and consequently had increased church membership. St. Michael's Sunday School was composed almost entirely of children of the congregation; "exertions used to bring the poor into the Sunday School" had not met with success. Superintendents were authorized to buy clothes for any who might need them. In January, 1821, the funds of the organization were increased by more than five hundred dollars, the value of some bank stock transferred to the treasury by the trustees of the funds of the former union Episcopal Sunday School.[35] This Charleston Society went on from year to year without enrolling new school units, except the Sunday School

[31] *Cf. infra,* p. 211.
[32] *Fourteenth An. Rep., Bd. Mgrs., N. Y. P. E. S. S. Soc.,* pp. 4, 5, 22-26.
[33] *Eighteenth An. Rep., Bd. Mgrs., N. Y. P. E. S. S. Soc.,* p. 5.
[34] *Address of Bd. Mgrs., Charleston P. E. S. S. Soc.,* 1820, p. 4.
[35] First An. Rep., Charleston P. E. S. S. Soc., printed in *Christian Jour.,* Jan., 1822, pp. 17-20.

of St. Stephen's Chapel, Charleston.[36] Its growth in numbers came from the colored race, rather than from the white citizens.[37] When the General Protestant Episcopal Sunday School Union was formed, in 1826, the Charleston Society became one of its most faithful allies.[38]

It was not long before Diocesan Sunday School Societies formed links between the General Union and the schools in the parishes. Massachusetts organized one as early as 1828.[39] New Jersey started one in 1829,[40] and on March 12, 1830, Rhode Island did likewise.[41] The next year South Carolina organized a diocesan unit, which in four years could report a membership of twenty-one schools; in many of the country parishes, the establishment of Sunday Schools was as yet impossible.[42] In 1832, Pennsylvania formed a Diocesan Society, hoping by establishing close relationships with the General Union to develop efficiency of administration and of instruction throughout the Diocese. A further purpose was to establish adult schools, but in 1834 there was only one such school in union with the organization; of other Sunday Schools there were twenty-four.[43]

4. THEORIES CONCERNING THE SUNDAY SCHOOLS

In becoming the instrument of churches for the religious education of children, the Sunday School did not at once eman-

[36] *Cf.* Rep. of the Charleston Society to G. P. E. S. S. U., in *Second An. Rep. of Exec. Com. of G. P. E. S. S. U.*, p. 26.

[37] *Fourth An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.*, p. 73.

[38] Several of the reports of the Exec. Com. of G. P. E. S. S. U. contain assurances of close coöperation on the part of the Charleston Society.

[39] *Cf. Jour., Mass.*, 1828, in Dow reprint, pp. 222, 223, where the organization of the Mass. Episc. S. S. Soc. was reported. The subject had come up at the Mass. Conv. of 1827; a committee appointed then (*cf. Jour., Mass.*, 1827, *ibid.*, pp. 213, 214) made the above-mentioned report without giving the date of the organization. This Mass. Society was not influential (*Fourth An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.*, p. 27). It held no meetings for several years (*Jour., Mass.*, 1835, p. 13).

[40] *Jour., Gen. Conv.*, 1829, pp. 15, 30-32.

[41] *Fourth An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.*, p. 30.

[42] *Jour., Gen. Conv.*, 1835, p. 40.

[43] *Second An. Rep., Bd. Mgrs., Dioc. S. S. Soc. of Pa.*, pp. 5, 8, 9.

cipate itself from the idea of charity and patronage which had been so prominent in the beginnings of the Sunday School movement in England. As already intimated, the "First Day Society" in Philadelphia had practically the same charitable purposes as were in the mind of Robert Raikes. In 1821 there were thirteen thousand paupers in New York City,—more than one-tenth of the entire population; of the nearly twenty thousand children of the poor, almost seven thousand were in the Sunday Schools.[44]

In an address delivered in 1817[45] to the superintendents, teachers and pupils of the Sunday Schools connected with St. George's Church, New York City, the Rev. James Milnor, Rector of St. George's, referred to the Sunday School work as "Christian charity," and to the workers as "devoting themselves to the improvement of the children of poverty in learning, in morals, in religion." Sunday Schools rescued the offspring of the poor "from the ignorance in which parental neglect ingulphs them." They did not raise "the expectations of the poor to an unreasonable height"; what they did was to "qualify them for the limited sphere in which they are called to act, to enable them to read the inestimable volume of inspiration, to learn from it their duty here and their hopes hereafter, and to receive the varied satisfaction and comforts which even a very moderate portion of learning will not fail to bestow." Morally, the "poorer classes" were helped by being rescued "from the evils of street association," by having their minds turned toward employments quite different from those that formerly "disgraced the Sabbath," and by gaining the "purest precepts of

[44] *Gospel Advocate*, I, No. 2 (Feb., 1821), p. 65, giving abstracts of the report of the fourth annual meeting of the Society for the Prevention of Pauperism.

[45] On Sunday, Nov. 9, 1817, at the formal opening of the new building erected by the Vestry of St. George's for the use of the Sunday Schools. It was on Cliff Street, back of the church. The address was reprinted at the request of the N. Y. S. S. U. Soc. in a pamphlet, a copy of which has been examined by the writer and these facts noted.

Christian morality." Back of it all was the religious motive. The chief glory of "this charitable work" was that in it religion was the "sanctifying principle"; without religion, the whole structure would have been on a "foundation of sand."

Something like the same spirit pervades the very carefully prepared Sunday School address of Bishop Hobart, delivered in the same year, 1817.[46] The skeleton of the address is:

I. Beneficial effects of Sunday Schools on the children and others instructed in them.
   1. They are rescued from the profanation of the Lord's Day.
   2. They are helped to a reverential observance of the Day.
   3. They acquire habits of order and of voluntary restraint.
   4. They gain a sense of the importance and value of the religious and moral wisdom which they get in the school.
   5. They improve morally.
   6. They increase their gratitude and affections.
   7. They secure helpful patronage when they go out into the world.
   8. They become endowed with pious principles and habits.

II. Benefits to Teachers.
   1. Training in self-denial.
   2. Practice in useful and benevolent employments.
   3. Development of affection, sympathy and kindness.
   4. Increased knowledge of human nature.
   5. Ability to form the tempers and improve the minds of the young.
   6. The cherishing of feelings of mutual kindness and affection.
   7. Increase of one's own religious knowledge and pious sensibilities.
   8. The satisfaction of contributing to the temporal welfare and eternal felicity of those who are in their charge.

III. Benefits to the Church.

Under this head Bishop Hobart makes a long plea for strong

[46] Hobart, *The Beneficial Effects of Sunday Schools* (a pamphlet).

Episcopal Church teaching rather than indifference to forms; after which he states that through Sunday Schools many become acquainted with the Episcopal Church, with its "decent, orderly and rational" services.

IV. Benefits to Society.

By improving the religious and moral condition of those who are instructed in Sunday Schools, social order is advanced, —and peace and happiness.

The address closes with an exhortation to support Sunday Schools, with words of encouragement for the Managers and Directors, Superintendents and Teachers, and injunctions to the children to practice the duties contained in the Catechism.

In an address at Sharpsburg, Maryland, on May 31, 1819, the Rev. J. C. Clay recalled the pioneer Sunday School work of Robert Raikes, in England, and laid stress on the reformatory character of Sunday Schools. "Wherefore is it," he interrogated, "that the name of Raikes has extended far and wide, as deserving and receiving the highest commendations, in its being identified with the origin of schools for the instruction of children on the Lord's Day? Is it not that the interests of morality and religion have thus been promoted? Is it not that Sunday Schools operate to the prevention of those violations of the Sabbath, so frequent in our land, and to which can generally be traced, as their first origin, those heinous crimes which bring their subjects to the gallows, or the penitentiary? Is it not that by means of this institution those virtuous and noble principles are implanted in the youthful breast, which afford a sure pledge of future usefulness, and future happiness?"[47]

Some interesting views of the relation of the Sunday School to the negro came from South Carolina. In 1820 Sunday Schools were of too recent origin to warrant any statement concerning

[47] Address at the laying of the corner stone of St. Paul's Church, Sharpsburg, in the *Christian Jour.*, July, 1819, pp. 216-219.

them, but there was hope that they were doing good, "particularly to the people of colour."[48] What that good was became clearer three years later, when South Carolina reported the successful operation of Sunday Schools in several parishes, schools which were "chiefly for religious instruction," and which were teaching negroes, both children and adults. These poor black people had a peculiarly urgent claim on this "charity," for "the interests of their proprietors, as well as the community, demand their being brought up in that religion which teaches the servant to be obedient to his master according to the flesh, and contented in that state of life in which it has pleased God that he should be."[49]

5. THE PUPILS

Sunday Schools were composed of children, "the greater part of them," as reported from Philadelphia, brought in "from the highways and hedges by their teachers"; they had been "rescued from ignorance and all its baneful concomitants, blasphemy, wretchedness and vice."[50] In New York, the Sunday Schools were influencing many children who "would otherwise be but profane violators of the sanctity of God's holy day." Every Sunday morning the workers at Grace Church Sunday School spent an hour and a half gathering in such pupils.[51] The school started on Federal Hill, Baltimore, in 1818, was for children who were growing up without parental control. On the other hand, much of the rapid progress made at the Sunday Schools in Bridgeport and in Fairfield, Connecticut, was due to the coöperation of parents.[52] Not only white boys and girls

[48] *Jour., Gen. Conv.*, 1820, p. 39.
[49] *Ibid.*, 1823, p. 42.
[50] *Report, P. E. Sunday and Adult School Soc. of Phila.*, 1821, p. 4.
[51] First An. Rep., Bd. Mgrs., N. Y. P. E. S. S. Soc., appended to Hobart's *Address on Beneficial Effects of S. S.*, pp. 41, 46.
[52] *Churchman's Magazine*, July, 1821, p. 220. We should remember that in Connecticut the state had made early provision for public education, leaving the

came to the Sunday Schools, but also negro children; sometimes there were separate schools for negroes, as at Charleston, South Carolina,[53] and at Wilmington, Delaware,[54] and sometimes, when the proportion of negroes was less, they had separate classes in the school with the white children.[55] The true basis of separation, however, as conceived at the time, was the simple one of sex. Where there were enough children, the girls formed the "Female School" and the boys the "Male School," each with its separate organization.

Coming from homes of vice and poverty, as many of the children did, they were not always properly clothed. At St. Paul's Church, Philadelphia, the women saw that the girls of the Sunday School did not lack in this respect.[56] Similar care was taken at St. James's and at Christ Church, Philadelphia.[57] In Charleston, South Carolina, the Episcopal Sunday School Society had a fund to use for clothing poor children, on which the Sunday School of St. Philip's Church did not hesitate to draw.[58]

6. HOUSING THE SUNDAY SCHOOL

The housing of the Sunday School was a problem from the start. The "Subscriber" who wrote about the Sunday School on

Sunday Schools free to teach only religion. *Cf.* Bishop Brownell's address to the Conn. Conv. of 1822 (*Jour.*, p. 7).

[53] *Cf. supra*, p. 155.

[54] *Second An. Rep., P. E. S. S. Soc. of Phila.*, pp. 12, 13.

[55] At the Female School of St. Paul's Chapel, N. Y., *e.g.*; *cf.* First An. Rep., Bd. Mgrs., N. Y. P. E. S. S. U., appended to Hobart's *Address on Beneficial Effects of S. S.*, p. 39.

[56] *Second An. Rep., P. E. S. S. Soc. of Phila.*, pp. 9, 22. For the year 1819 they had distributed—

Shoes	48 pair
Stockings	39 do
Peticoats	20
Coats	21
Shawls	8

[57] *An. Rep., P. E. Sunday and Adult School Soc. of Phila.*, 1825, pp. 4, 5.

[58] *Christian Jour.*, Jan., 1822, pp. 18, 20.

Federal Hill, Baltimore, claimed that the building they erected in 1819 was the first to be put up for an Episcopal Sunday School, but of course that is a mistake; St. George's Sunday School building, in New York City, antedated this Baltimore structure by something like two years. The claim, however, is good evidence that there could not have been many such buildings, or these Baltimore people would have known of them. In 1821 the Rev. William A. Muhlenberg had a "neat school house" built for his Sunday School at St. James's Church, Lancaster, Pennsylvania.[59] By 1825 a Sunday School house had been fitted up for the five schools of St. Paul's Church, Philadelphia, three of which met on Sundays and two during the week.[60] A few years later the Sunday School of St. Peter's Church, Auburn, New York, was meeting "in a brick building belonging to the congregation, and contiguous to the church,"[61] and at St. Ann's Church, Brooklyn, the Sunday School took possession of its new building on January 11, 1829.[62] In 1830 St. Paul's Church, Baltimore, put into use a building near the church, which had been purchased and fitted up for the same purpose.[63] In the first part of that same year, the Sunday School of St. Anne's Church, Lowell, Massachusetts, moved into a building erected for them near the church; on the walls were large maps of sacred geography.[64] In 1830, too, the Sunday School of St. James's Church, Philadelphia, moved into new quarters in a two-room building constructed for their use; at the same time the Infant School began to meet in a new room built over the vestry room.[65] The year 1831 began with sixteen Episcopal Sunday Schools housed in buildings of their own.[66]

[59] *Jour., Pa.*, 1822, p. 26.
[60] *Ibid.*, 1825, p. 21.
[61] *Third An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.*, p. 34.
[62] Fish, *St. Ann's Ch., Brooklyn*, pp. 130, 131.
[63] *Fourth An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.*, p. 67.
[64] *Fifth An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.*, pp. 34, 36.
[65] *Ibid.*, p. 79; and *Fourth An. Rep.*, p. 60.
[66] *Episc. Watchman*, Apr. 23, 1831, p. 395.

However, most of the schools met in the church. Some went to halls,[67] but the great majority of Sunday Schools were to be found in the basement, or in the gallery, or in the nave of the church building. At Christ Church, Hartford, the authorities regarded the church as the most fitting place to create the desired atmosphere for teaching religion,[68] but in most parishes the church was used only because there was nothing else available for Sunday School gatherings. The bringing of large numbers of untrained children, most of them from homes of poverty or irreligion, or both, into the churches for instruction was bound to cause more or less friction. The behavior of the children must have seemed much worse to the people of the time than modern child psychology lets us believe it really was. Evidently there were troublous times in Newport, Rhode Island, soon after the Sunday School of Trinity Church was organized, in 1818. The Vestry had the belfry repaired for the use of the Sunday School, but in 1820 they voted that the Sunday School "that now meets in the organ loft be requested not to meet there in the future."[69] At St. John's Chapel, New York City, they dismissed from the school several incorrigible boys.[70] Other cases of disorder appear in different reports, and no doubt there were many further instances that were never reported.

7. THE CURRICULA OF THE SUNDAY SCHOOLS

There was no generally accepted Sunday School curriculum, but the Bible, the Church Catechism and the Prayer Book were

[67] The Rev. Dr. Eaton, for example, opened a Sunday School in a hall on Washington Street, Boston, which increased from 13 to 175 (*Gospel Messenger,* Jan. 30, 1830, p. 204).

[68] *Fourth An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.,* p. 33. This was quite different from the usual complaint about the inconveniences of meeting in the church. St. James's Church, Philadelphia, for instance, before they erected their Sunday School quarters, found the church not "suitable"; it was an "impediment" to the work (*cf. Fourth An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.,* p. 60).

[69] Mason, *Annals of Trinity Ch., Newport,* I, pp. 324, 327. No reasons for the action are given, but it looks like a case of supposed abuse of property.

[70] First An. Rep., Bd. Mgrs., N. Y. P. E. S. S. Soc., appended to Hobart's *Address on the Beneficial Effects of S. S.,* p. 34.

standard teaching material; also, hymns were quite generally used for memory work, which was a large factor in those days. Nothing but these materials were being used in 1821 in Watertown, Connecticut.[71] In Bridgeport, Connecticut, in addition to the Catechism, the first class learned the Thirty-nine Articles, McDowel's *Biblical Questions,* most of the Collects, Epistles and Gospels, and parts of the New Testament. In Fairfield, near by, the first class learned the Catechism and many of the Collects, Epistles and Gospels; also fifty-seven hymns, seventeen Psalms, the Thirty-nine Articles, Jones's *Catechism,* Rayner's *Catechism,*[72] thirty-six answers from Dr. Barrow's *Collection,* and thirty-six chapters in the Bible. Furthermore, they all learned about the rubrics in the Prayer Book, and how to take part in the services in the church.[73] The Rev. Harry Croswell, Rector of Trinity Church, New Haven, perceived the need of appropriate books of instruction for young people and wrote *The Young Churchman's Guide,* the first two parts of which appeared in 1823.[74] Although these lessons were much used in

[71] *Churchman's Magazine,* Dec., 1821, p. 259.

[72] In 1818, Menzies Rayner, Rector at Huntington, Connecticut, published a Catechism of the Bible.

[73] *Churchman's Magazine,* July, 1821, pp. 219, 220.

[74] The first part, or book, contained:

I. General Preface.
II. An Address to Parents, Guardians, and Sponsors, on the Religious Instruction of Children and Youth.
III. Directions for organizing and conducting Catechetical Sunday Schools.
IV. Offices of Devotion, to be used at the opening and closing of Sunday Schools.
V. Prayers and Graces, for Young People.
VI. A short Catechism for Beginners.
VII. A Scriptural view of the Plan of Salvation.
VIII. The Church Catechism.
IX. Instructions for the Public Worship of God, according to the Services of the Church.
X. Catechetical Exercises, connected with the foregoing Instructions.

The second part, or book, contained twenty-two lessons in Explanation of the Church Catechism.

Croswell planned three other parts, or books,—Confirmation Instructions,

Connecticut,[75] we find a Hartford bookseller advertising Mrs. Sherwood's *Stories Explaining the Church Catechism* and the Rev. Charles A. Goodrich's *Outline of Bible History*.[76]

In New York City there was considerable need of instruction in reading. When the Female School of St. Paul's Chapel opened, on March 30, 1817, the majority of the ninety-two girls who came were "entirely ignorant of the alphabet; some could spell tolerably well in words of two or three syllables, but very few could read." About the same was true of the Female School of Trinity Church,—they were "extremely ignorant, some not knowing the alphabet." At the Male School at St. Mark's, only thirty-five out of one hundred and fifty children could read with fluency. For the use of the unlettered children, there were issued cards of instruction, from the alphabet to words of one syllable; the spelling-book of the London Sunday School Union was republished in New York for use in the Sunday Schools. Primers, likewise, were used. The religious materials were Prayer Books, Catechisms and Scripture Lessons from Bishop Gastrell's *Christian Institutes*.[77]

In St. Luke's Church, New York City, the advanced classes in the Male Department memorized the Catechism and parts of the New Testament, which were explained to them. The boys who could not read repeated together, in classes, the Lord's Prayer and the Creed. After a while, this method was given up; instead, the superintendent read to the boys from the thirteenth volume of tracts published by the British Society for Promoting

Bible History and Church History,—all with catechetical exercises (*Gospel Advocate*, May, 1825, p. 166), but only two others appeared,—the Confirmation Instructions and a book on the Epistles and Gospels. (*Cf.* advertisement in the 1847 edition of Book I.)

[75] *First An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.*, p. 22.

[76] *Episc. Watchman*, May 14, 1827, p. 64. The bookseller was H. & F. J. Huntington.

[77] First An. Rep., Bd. Mgrs., N. Y. P. E. S. S. Soc., appended to Bishop Hobart's *Address on the Beneficial Effects of Sunday Schools* (N. Y., 1818), pp. 37, 39, 42, 43.

Christian Knowledge. In the Female Department, the first three classes memorized Bible passages, hymns and the Catechism. The fourth class had advanced Catechism work and reading. The fifth class was without a teacher at the time; the sixth class had reading and Scripture Catechism. This procedure at St. Luke's was about the same as that of other Sunday Schools at the time in New York. In the Male Department of Christ Church Sunday School, they introduced the custom, probably not typical, of attracting the boys early and keeping them in a proper Sunday mood by reading to them an interesting tract or a story like *The Dairyman's Daughter*.[78]

In Philadelphia, also, there was considerable instruction in the alphabet and in reading, but withal there was a strong note of evangelism and moral fervor. They concerned themselves with "salvation" and "correct and moral deportment." "The glorious light of revelation" was held before an auxiliary school opened in Wilkes-Barre.[79] "Moral conduct" and "correct principles" were the aims of St. Peter's Female School, Philadelphia.[80] A lady belonging to St. Peter's Church wrote *Questions and Answers on the Historical Parts of the New Testament*, which was published in 1819 for the use of the Philadelphia Sunday Schools. The Protestant Episcopal Sunday School Society of Philadelphia published Catechisms and Hymn Books for the Sunday Schools.[81] In the Female School at Christ Church, Philadelphia, they memorized hymns and studied the Prayer Book; they had Catechism instructions, too, using as helps the Catechism divided up into short sections and Bishop Mann's *Exposition of the Catechism*.[82] At St. John's Sunday School, Northern Liberties, the children received a simple

[78] *Seventh An. Rep., Bd. Mgrs., N. Y. P. E. S. S. Soc.*, 1824, pp. 3, 5.
[79] *Second An. Rep., P. E. S. S. Soc. of Phila.*, pp. 9, 11.
[80] *Report of P. E. Sunday and Adult School Soc. of Phila.*, for 1821, p. 5.
[81] *Second An. Rep., P. E. S. S. Soc. of Phila.*, pp. 5, 16.
[82] *Second An. Rep., P. E. S. S. Soc. of Phila.*, p. 4.

English education as an aid to the reading of the Bible; they, too, used Mann's *Exposition of the Catechism.*[83]

There is frequent mention of rewards and premiums. A typical sentence is: "Three hundred and eighty-one tracts have been distributed for regular attendance, 18 Bibles and 26 Prayer Books have been distributed for diligence, five dozen Hymn Books, and a great variety of other books have been given as premiums."[84] For 1600 scholars, the Protestant Episcopal Sunday School Society of Philadelphia printed 100,000 reward tickets.[85] This touches a rather important matter which must not be anticipated here further than to say that the custom of granting premiums grew into such an evil that the General Protestant Episcopal Sunday School Union, organized in 1826, recommended either the abolition of the entire reward system, or the plan of giving tickets redeemable with books.[86]

The School in St. Paul's Church, Radcliffeborough (Charleston), had as text-books the *Bible,* the *Prayer Book, Explanation of the Church Catechism,* and a system of *Catechetical Instruction* prepared by the Rev. Dr. Dalcho. At the close of the session the children listened to the reading of an admonition from Waldo or from Brooke.[87] In St. Philip's Sunday School, Charleston, some of the children had studied these *Catechism*

[83] *Jour., Pa.,* 1822, p. 22.

[84] *An. Rep., P. E. Sunday and Adult School Soc. of Phila.,* 1826, p. 8, referring to St. Andrew's Church.

[85] *Second An. Rep., P. E. S. S. Soc. of Phila.,* 1819, p. 16.

[86] *System of Instruction,* 1827, p. 13.

[87] *Admonitions for Sunday Schools,* by Peter Waldo, a layman, is a tract of 95 pages (12mo), published in London in 1805, containing twenty-five sermonettes, each with its Bible text. In the advertisement, Mr. Waldo says that the admonitions were written for the children of the Sunday School where he lived, for them to read "in a winter's evening," but by no means were they to "divert their attention from the better instructions they receive from the pulpit."

Short Addresses to the Children of Sunday Schools on Particular Texts of Scripture, to which is added an Address, on the Institution of Sunday Schools, and the great and good Consequences of Visitors, by William Brooke, Esq., was a tract of 84 pp., 12mo, which reached its fifth edition in 1803.

These are the first two titles in Vol. VI of the published tracts of the English Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and are followed by Bishop Ken-

Explanations and Dalcho's *Instructions* so much that in 1821 they were beginning Porteus's *Evidences* and Stanley's *Faith and Practice of a Churchman.*[88]

In all the Sunday Schools of the Church there was a vast amount of memorizing done. Hymns, Psalms, Collects, Prayers and Bible selections were learned, and repeated in the classes,—beside the official Church Catechism. Some typical sentences from Sunday School reports will be illuminating. "Many recite their Catechism accurately, and repeat from ten to fifty verses in the New Testament, with hymns."[89] "A child in one week learned and recited to her teacher one thousand and forty-six verses in the Bible; and this effort of memory was made without encroaching upon the time devoted to her daily labour and attendance upon another school."[90] At Watertown, Connecticut, Catechism recitations were prominent features of the Sunday School; "several chapters from the New Testament, and a great number of Hymns, were learnt."[91] In the Female Department of St. John's Chapel School, in New York, "they commit to memory long lessons from the New Testament, Common Prayer Book and Catechism"; a colored woman who had begun her alphabet in the school learned to read and spell and "has committed the four Gospels to memory, and many other Scripture lessons."[92] In the school of St. Paul's Church, Radcliffeborough (Charleston), the children's recitations of Catechism, Prayer Book and Bible passages were enriched by explanations intended to fill the words with religious content.[93]

nett's *Christian Scholar,* Stonhouse's *Religious Instruction of Children Recommended* and Bishop Wilson's *True Christian Method of Educating Children.*

[88] *Christian Jour.,* Jan., 1822, p. 18.

[89] *An. Rep., P. E. Sunday and Adult School Soc. of Phila.,* 1825, p. 9, from report of St. Matthew's Church, Francisville, Pa.

[90] Report of do. for 1821, p. 5, referring to the female Sunday School of St. Peter's Church, Phila.

[91] *Churchman's Magazine,* Dec., 1821, p. 259.

[92] *Seventh An. Rep., Bd. Mgrs., of N. Y. P. E. S. S. Soc.,* 1824, p. 2. Reports of other schools in New York show the same sort of memory work.

[93] *Christian Jour.,* Jan., 1822, p. 18.

8. SOME HYMNS USED BY THE CHILDREN

Some of the hymns used for memory work in the Sunday Schools may have been chosen for the purpose from the rather limited number that were sung in the church; the process of learning them would have helped to awaken religious feelings, and the knowledge of them would have enabled the children to participate more fully in the church services. It seems more likely, however, that the hymns memorized were the regular Sunday School ones; naturally they were not very numerous in the early days, but the collection of them grew apace. Those used at the dedication of St. George's Sunday School building, in New York City, in 1817, have come down to us.[94] In the upper room of the building, before going into the church, they sang a hymn of four stanzas, the first of which was:

> Great God, thy watchful care we bless:
> Which gives our feeble plan success:
> Here may we oft delight to meet
> Our youthful charge at Jesu's feet.

In the church, the hymn before the address was:

Children

> Come, let our voices join
> To sing a song of praise;
> For favors so divine
> Our grateful notes we'll raise.

Teachers

> To God alone the praise belongs,
> His love demands your noblest songs.

[94] *Cf.* Appendix to the Rev. James Milnor's *Address at the Opening of the Sunday School Building of St. George's Church, New York,* pp. 24-28.

Children

When wandering far astray
In paths of vice and sin
You kindly pointed out
The danger we were in.

Teachers

To God alone be all the praise,
Who turns your feet from sinful ways.

There were three more stanzas, with responses by the teachers; the hymn ended with the

Chorus

Lord, let this glorious work
Be crown'd with large success;
Many thousands yet unborn
This institution bless.
Then shall thy praise be sounded high
Throughout a vast eternity.

At the close of the entire service, just before the benediction, came the hymn:

Congregation

O what a pleasure 'tis to see
Christians in harmony agree!
To teach the rising race to know
They're born in sin, expos'd to wo.

Children

O what a privilege is this,
That we obtain so rich a grace;
We're taught the path to endless day—
We're taught to read, to sing, and pray.

Chorus

To God let highest praise be given:
Hark, how the echo sounds from heaven—
Come let us with the angels join:
Glory to God, good will to men.

In the children's next stanza they sang as anthropomorphites:

May we our benefactors meet
Around Jehovah's blissful feet.

The hymn beginning, "Come, let our voices join," appeared twelve years later, with some changes in phraseology, in *A Selection of Psalms and Hymns, for the Use of Sunday Schools*.[95] Some of the other hymns of that collection must have been used in the early Sunday Schools, for hymnals and selections of hymns are made up mostly of material that has proved its value by the test of time. The little book contains thirty-four Psalms in meter, and sixty-seven hymns. The first thirty-two hymns are for the use of "Sunday scholars." Hymn number one begins

Happy the child whose youngest years
  Receive instruction well;
Who hates the sinner's path, and fears
  The road that leads to hell.

The fourth hymn is headed "The Chief End of Man"; its first stanza is

Why have we lips, if not to sing
The praises of our Heavenly King?
Why have we hearts, if not to love
Our Father and our Friend above?

[95] Published by the General Protestant Episcopal Sunday School Union in 1828 or 1829. In 1819 the Prot. Episc. S. S. Soc. of Philadelphia had published a book of hymns for the use of Sunday Schools (*Cf. Second An. Report* of the society, p. 16), but no copy of this has come to hand.

In the nineteenth hymn we learn "The danger of little sins." It starts:

By envious Cain we're taught
How murder may begin;
And how one angry jealous thought
May lead to greater sin.

Part II consists of nineteen hymns "for use in Sunday Schools." Hymn number forty-four concerns itself with "The Shortness of Life," making the fact very certain in its opening lines:

Our life is never at a stand,
'Tis like a fading flower,
Death, which is always near at hand,
Comes nearer every hour.

The last hymn (51) in this second part, headed "Dismission, before going to Church," recalls the excellent custom of taking the children into the church service after the morning session of the school. There are only two stanzas, of which the first is:

We now from School depart,
Grace in God's house to seek;
Be present, Lord, with every heart,
There, and throughout the week.

Part III, beginning with the fifty-second hymn, has eight hymns "for use at Sunday School Anniversaries." One hymn (55) in this division names at the outset the seasons of the year when these popular gatherings were held:

Spared to another Spring,
We raise our grateful songs;
'Tis pleasant, Lord, thy praise to sing,
For praise to thee belongs.

In giving "thanks for instruction" the children sang the hymn (58) which begins:

Great God, before thy sacred throne,
A youthful tribe draws near;
To praise thee for thy mercies shown
Through every passing year.

Part IV concludes the "Selection" with eight hymns for teachers. Two of them are the familiar ones beginning "Awake, my soul, stretch every nerve," and "Heirs of unending life." Hymn number sixty-two is a "Teacher's Prayer" in three short stanzas, of which the second is:

For blessings on the rising race,
We bow before thy throne;
May the rich influence of thy grace,
Our feeble efforts own.

The selected Psalms in meter occupy the first part of the book. As a sample of the verse we may take the first three of the six stanzas in which the fifteenth Psalm is rendered:

Lord, who's the happy man that may
To thy blest courts repair,
Not stranger-like, to visit them,
But to inhabit there?

'Tis he, whose every thought and deed
By rules of virtue moves;
Whose generous tongue disdains to speak
The thing his heart disproves.

Who never did a slander forge,
His neighbor's fame to wound:
Nor hearken to a false report,
By malice whisper'd round.

9. PREMIUMS AND REWARDS

The granting of premiums and rewards, which has been spoken of incidentally, was a custom that wrought more evil

than it cured. It seems to have been a combination of patronage[96] and the desire to furnish incentive to the production of external results. There is constant reference to such premiums as Bibles, Prayer Books, Testaments, Hymn Books, tracts and tickets; they were given in recognition of all sorts of merit,—for regular attendance, for excellent recitations of lessons and of memorized passages and for good behavior. The use of tickets is explained as follows: "To every scholar present at the performance of the office of devotion appointed to be used at the opening of the School, we give a blue ticket; for committing perfectly any given lesson, the same; for being head of class, the same; and for good behaviour during School and divine service, the same. Ten of these entitle the holder to one red ticket, ten of which are valued at a Bible, five to a Prayer Book, Testament, or some other book of the same value."[97] Other books mentioned as premiums were May's *Lectures* and Dehon's *Confirmation Instructions*.[98] Still others were little books with such titles as *Susan and Esther Hall* and *The Re-Captured Negro*.[99] However, although many reported excellent results from the use of such premiums, the custom of rewarding all the satisfactory details of Sunday School life came to be a nuisance and was recognized by some as a degrading process of bribery. For instance, the Female Sunday School of St. Peter's Church, Philadelphia, gave up the ticket system because it produced a "mercenary spirit."[100] The motives fostered by the reward system were so low that the General Protestant Episco-

[96] The teachers generally supplied their own reward materials. At the colored School of St. Philip's, New York City, the good attendance was all the more to be praised because the teachers were unable to give the usual Sunday School rewards (*Seventh An. Rep., Bd. Mgrs., N. Y. P. E. S. S. Soc.*, 1824, p. 7).

[97] First An. Rep., Bd. Mgrs., N. Y. P. E. S. S. Soc., appended to Hobart's *Address on the Beneficial Effects of Sunday Schools*, p. 35.

[98] *Second An. Rep. P. E. S. S. Soc., Phila.*, p. 4.

[99] *Report of P. E. Sunday and Adult School Soc. of Phila.*, 1821, p. 16.

[100] *Report of P. E. Sunday and Adult School Soc. of Phila.*, 1825, p. 4.

Testimonial for Premium Bibles, and other Reward Books.

THE NEW-YORK
Sunday School Union,
PRESENT THIS TESTIMONY
OF THEIR KIND REGARD, TO
WILLIAM PERRIS,
for GOOD BEHAVIOUR and IMPROVEMENT
while attending Sunday School No. 10.

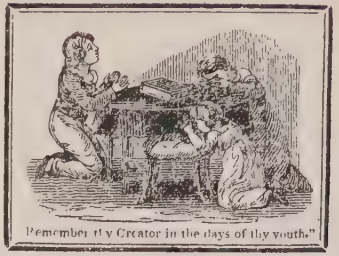
James Ormstead,
Horace Benson, } VISITERS.

Nov. 10, 1825.

HOLY BIBLE

NEW-YORK
SUNDAY SCHOOL UNION SOCIETY,
Instituted February, 1816.
"For the Earth shall be filled with the Knowledge of the Lord."

SCRIPTURE REWARD TICKETS.



These Tickets have appropriate inscriptions on the back, written and signed by the Superintendent or Teacher, and are given to the diligent and obedient scholars as keepsakes.

A form of Testimonial and two Scripture Reward Tickets, reproduced from *Plain and Easy Directions for forming Sunday Schools,* published under the direction of the New York Sunday School Union, in 1826.

pal Sunday School Union, soon to be described, recommended the abolition, or at least the modification, of the system.[101] When the Sunday School of Christ Church, Boston, gave up "the pernicious practice of rewards," the step was much criticised, but very soon the majority of schools had abandoned the scheme; so far had the pendulum swung in the other direction that the decline of one school near Boston was attributed to its continuation of the evil practice of giving rewards.[102]

10. SUNDAY SCHOOL LIBRARIES

As the reward system declined, incentive continued through the use of libraries, which began to come into vogue very soon after Sunday Schools had settled down to their real work. The chance to draw books was not only a great "stimulus"[103] to the boys and girls, but it was frequently made to depend on good conduct and excellence in lesson work.[104] A small library opened in 1821 for the Female School of St. John's Church, Philadelphia, loaned books for a week at a time, hoping that "many careless parents" might happen to look into them and receive instruction. The library at the Female School of St. James's Church, Philadelphia, was a great attraction to the girls; the authorities believed that the books were very generally read by the parents as well as by the children.[105] Naturally, libraries

[101] *System of Instruction*, p. 13; *Episc. Watchman*, Nov. 8, 1828, p. 270.

[102] *Fourth An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.*, 1830, p. 25.

[103] "Stimulus" was the word used by the superintendent of the Sunday School of Christ Church, Savannah; *cf. Second An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S S. U.*, p. 27. Other words of similar meaning appear in various reports.

[104] St. Paul's, Baltimore, *e.g.* (*cf. Third An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.*, p. 19); also Christ Church, Philadelphia (*An. Rep., P. E. Sunday and Adult School Soc. of Phila.*, 1825, p. 4).

[105] *Report of P. E. Sunday and Adult School Soc. of Phila.*, 1821, pp. 4, 6. From St. James's Sunday School, Lancaster, Pa., in 1831, came the report that "many a father has been detained from the tavern by listening to his child reading out of his library book" (*Fifth An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.*, p. 83).

began in a small way and increased as they could. In 1829 St. Paul's Sunday School in Baltimore had 236 books for its 97 boys and 82 girls; at St. John's Sunday School, Worthington, Ohio, there were 199 "scholars" and a library of 300 volumes. At St. Paul's they wanted to increase the library, but would not admit any books that were not of the proper character. The director of the latter school, Mr. I. N. Whiting, said that from between three and four hundred volumes which he had recently examined, he had selected only about fifty desirable Sunday School library books. He found considerable error in doctrine and much faulty delineation of character. Most of them were too fictitious for the untrained judgments of youth.[106] This interesting literary criticism makes one curious to know what books were included in the condemnation, but Mr. Whiting mentions no names.[107] He must have been more critical than the average, for Sunday School libraries continued to grow in number and in size. Mr. Whiting himself told of handing on to other schools the books which the children in his Sunday School had read; in this way he had been instrumental in starting two or three other libraries.[108] As libraries grew in importance, they were quite generally used as incentives to good behavior and diligence.[109]

[106] *Third An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.*, pp. 17-19.

[107] A number of names of contemporary Sunday School books will be mentioned as publications of the Gen. P. E. S. S. Union, and more will be noted under the head of "Materials" used in this period. Some of the first books stereotyped by the Union were *The Raven and the Dove, Susan and her Lamb, Nosegay of Honeysuckles, Dialogues for Children* and *Sunday School Child's Reward* (*Second An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.*, p. 13).

Lists of Sunday School library books appear in the *Gospel Messenger* for May 3, 1828, and for Jan. 24, 1829; also *Church Register*, III, No. 23.

[108] *Fifth An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.*, 1831, p. 93.

[109] The Gen. P. E. S. S. Union recommended such use of the Sunday School libraries (*System of Instruction*, p. 13). Many reports from Sunday Schools, particularly after 1830, contain statements that the use of the library books depended on good deportment, attendance and lesson work.

11. RESULTS ACHIEVED BY THESE EARLY SUNDAY SCHOOLS

Testimony to the good results of Sunday Schools is abundant. To quote from an account of the Sharpsburg (Maryland) Sunday School:

> It is only to look at the Sunday School of Sharpsburg, and the many beneficial effects that have resulted from it, to have an entire conviction of the utility and excellence of such institutions. The same children, to whom the return of the Lord's Day now brings joy, in the religious exercises to which it is to be consecrated, but a few months since contemplated Sunday as little more than a day for play and merriment . . . the only noise you hear from them is, the joyful sound of praise and thanksgiving to God.

The Sunday School, which had produced these results, was "admirably adapted to bring up children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord."[110] In a short time the Sunday Schools of Philadelphia had "much more than accomplished the expectations" of their early devotees. Experience had already taught that Sunday Schools contributed to "the welfare of Society, the interests of the church, and the salvation of immortal souls."[111] One young woman of exceptionally good conduct attributed to her Sunday School instruction all the "advantages" she had.[112] In New York, gratifying results appeared soon.[113] In a few years the Sunday Schools had brought many into the Church and had interested a large number of people in Sunday School matters.[114] At Charleston, South Carolina, the work of the Sunday Schools had enlarged "the borders of our Church" and had improved "the moral and religious character

[110] *Christian Jour.*, July, 1819, pp. 215, 216.
[111] *Second An. Rep., P. E. S. S. Soc. of Phila.*, 1819, pp. 8, 9.
[112] *Report of P. E. Sunday and Adult School Soc. of Phila.*, 1821, p. 5.
[113] First An. Rep., Bd. Mgrs., N. Y. P. E. S. S. Soc., appended to Hobart's *Address on the Beneficial Effects of S. S.*, pp. 46, 47.
[114] *Seventh An. Rep., Bd. Mgrs., N. Y. P. E. S. S. Soc.*, 1824, p. 7.

of the rising generation."[115] This was what it was doing everywhere, beside teaching the alphabet, when needed, and such necessary practical matters as cleanliness and ordinary politeness.

Quite as interesting and important were the effects on adults, —not only on the few mature pupils, but also on other adults who came under the influence of the Sunday School. An unconverted grandmother of two of the children in the Female Sunday School of St. Peter's Church, Philadelphia, came along with them to the school and was so moved religiously that she became a communicant of the Church.[116] At St. Paul's Church, Philadelphia, one of the older girls who had entered the Sunday School when it started, in February, 1816, became a teacher in about three years.[117] In 1821 five of the teachers in the same school "joined the communion."[118] We read of energetic women teachers in the New York Sunday Schools who worked in the school and the church eight successive hours, and of superintendents who readily gave up "the pleasure of remaining with their families" in order to be with the children entrusted to their care.[119] One man who had formerly been "ardently attached to the gay and fascinating pleasures of the world" wrote a strong commendation of the loyal teachers and superintendents who had enrolled themselves as "the preceptors and benefactors" of Sunday School children "drawn from the abodes of poverty, ignorance and depravity."[120] All this indicates the ardor with which men and women entered into the work of the

[115] Report of Charleston P. E. S. S. Soc., in *Christian Jour.*, Jan., 1822, p. 19.

[116] *Second An. Rep., P. E. S. S. Soc. of Phila.*, 1819, p. 6.

[117] *Ibid.*, p. 8. This was remarkable, because in those early years the children of the Sunday Schools generally lacked the social and intellectual background required of teachers.

[118] *Rep. P. E. Sunday and Adult School Soc. of Phila.*, 1821, p. 6.

[119] First An. Rep., Bd. Mgrs., N. Y. P. E. S. S. Soc., appended to Hobart's *Address*, p. 46.

[120] *Christian Jour.*, Sept., 1819, p. 262. The communication was dated New York, 3d Aug., 1819, and signed "A TRUE CHURCHMAN."

Sunday Schools. In doing so they found "greater pleasure than can possibly be afforded in those circles of worldly enjoyment where they can both experience and confer delight,"[121]—which is a roundabout way of stating the experience of Christ Church, Philadelphia, that Sunday School teaching had a beneficial effect "on the instructors themselves as well as on the pupils."[122]

So far, what has been said refers principally to the first decade of Sunday Schools in the Episcopal Church. In 1826, the *General Protestant Episcopal Sunday School Union* was formed to systematize the entire work of Sunday Schools in the Episcopal Church, to publish text-books and other literature distinctive of the Church, and to stimulate further interest in Sunday Schools. As we shall see, this remarkable organization did not succeed in establishing complete uniformity either of procedure or of lessons, but it nevertheless accomplished a great work of stimulating Sunday School effort and made its power felt wherever children gathered together in Episcopal Sunday Schools.

B. *THE GENERAL PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL SUNDAY SCHOOL UNION*

1. ORGANIZATION OF THE UNION

At the time of the General Convention in Philadelphia in 1826 a group of Sunday School enthusiasts got together and organized the General Protestant Episcopal Sunday School Union. Although it had no official relation to the General Convention, it assumed at once a high position, not only because of the great importance of Sunday School work but also because such men as Bishops Hobart and White and the future Bishops DeLancey, Gadsden, Kemper and Whittingham took part in launching it. At first the Union was composed of the members

[121] Words used concerning teachers in New York. *Cf.* First An. Rep., Bd. Mgrs., N. Y. P. E. S. S. Soc., appended to Hobart's *Address,* p. 46.

[122] *Second An. Rep., P. E. S. S. Soc. of Phila.,* 1819, pp. 3, 4.

of the General Convention and the representatives of the Sunday Schools which joined it and paid two dollars a year in dues, but later the constitution was changed so as to omit members of the Convention, as such, and to abolish the dues.[123] The society's first circular asked that applications for membership be sent to:

Mr. Joseph W. Ingraham, Boston.
Rev. Harry Croswell, New Haven.
W. R. Whittingham, New York (Secretary of the Committee).
Rev. William H. DeLancey, Philadelphia.
Rev. Robert B. Croes, Richmond, Va.
Mr. E. Thayer, Charleston, S. C.
Mr. Whiting, Worthington, Ohio.

This is not merely a list of names; it is a roster of the leading Episcopal Sunday School workers of the time.

The circular just mentioned set forth the purposes of the society:

The object of the General Protestant Episcopal Sunday School Union is to combine the resources of Episcopalians into one great whole, which, by its concentration of power, may be enabled to give life and vigour to the multitude of branches which now pine in solitude and neglect. The talent and experience of the most active supporters of our Sunday Schools will be united in the invention of efficacious systems of instruction, and their combined wisdom exerted in the choice of proper books.

Without in the least interfering with the claims or pretensions of other religious societies, the Protestant Episcopal Church has always considered it her duty assiduously to instruct her younger members in the nature of her own peculiar character and claims, that they might at all times be ready to state the grounds of their attachment to her pale, and thus be armed against any temptations to derelic-

[123] *Cf. Circular, G. P. E. S. S. U.*, 1826, and *Triennial Reports, G. P. E. S. S. U.*, 1829 and 1832, pp. 9, 10, 19.

tion from her faith and discipline. This can be done nowhere so well as in the Sunday School.

It is evidently desirable that Sunday Schools under the patronage of the Protestant Episcopal Church should be conducted on principles purely Protestant Episcopalian, and should afford a prominent place in their instruction to the doctrines and constitution of the church to which they belong . . . It is the duty of Protestant Episcopalians to associate among themselves for the purpose of providing the means of exhibiting to their youth the principles of Christianity in what they believe to be its purest form—a form derived from Christ and his apostles.

Complete approval of these aims and unanimous coöperation were not to be expected. The Rev. John Hall, writing on behalf of the Sunday School Society of St. Peter's Church, Ashtabula, Ohio, said, somewhat ambiguously, "our views being those of strict Episcopalians, and the General Society being in its infancy, we were obliged to use books other than those recommended by the Executive Committee of the Board of Managers."[124] It must have been distrust of the society's *infancy* that led to this rejection of some of the books recommended by its committee, for the purposes of the society, as quoted above, seem to be Episcopalian enough to suit the strictest of strict Episcopalians. The editor of the *Episcopal Register* believed they were too strict, claiming that the few necessary Episcopal books could be obtained from Episcopal Tract Societies;—"nearly the whole of the books needed either for the purposes of instruction or reward, must obviously relate to the great doctrines and precepts of our common Christianity."[125]

On the other hand, there were numerous commendations of the Union's system and its publications.[126] The following may be taken as samples. The Board of Managers of the Sunday

[124] *Second An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.*, p. 32.

[125] *Episc. Register* for Sept., 1826, pp. 146, 147.

[126] Many such are to be found in the annual reports of the Executive Committee, especially that for 1828.

School Society of Immanuel Church, Newcastle, Delaware, reported that they "cannot too strongly advise a strict adherence to the system of instruction recommended by the General Protestant Episcopal Sunday School Union,—a system, in the opinion of the Board of Managers, better adapted to the use of Sunday Schools than any other." From Edenton, South Carolina, the Secretary of St. Paul's Sunday School wrote of "the high opinion which the teachers entertain of the excellence and fitness for the end in view, of the books generally, which have been published by the Parent Society."[127]

2. THE UNION'S PLAN OF LESSONS AND ROUTINE

In 1827 the Union issued its complete scheme in a small pamphlet with the title, *System of Instruction, for the Use of Protestant Episcopal Sunday Schools in the United States,* which was its first publication.[128] In this little hand-book the Union covered the subjects, "Constitution and Government of Schools," "Register, Records, etc.," "Division, or Arrangement, Subjects of Instruction," "Routine of Business, or Division of Time," "Attendance of Scholars," "Rewards," and "Sunday School Library." The last two pages contained a list of books published or recommended by the Union, chief among which were the four Protestant Episcopal Sunday School Books and the three Catechisms, which formed the bulk of their instruction material. An enthusiastic Sunday School worker of the time has described the four Sunday School Books:

> There is an uninterrupted chain of lessons, whose subjects increase in difficulty and complexity, step by step, as the child's intellectual powers advance and unfold themselves. Book No. 1 consists of short, sententious precepts, taken principally from the Scriptures, clothed in language so exceedingly simple, as to render them intelligible to children of very tender age. No. 2 carries the pupil back to the his-

[127] *Second An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.,* pp. 33, 34.
[128] *Trien. Rep., Bd. Mgrs.,* 1829 and 1832, p. 4.

SYSTEM

OF

INSTRUCTION,

FOR THE USE OF

PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL

SUNDAY SCHOOLS

IN THE

UNITED STATES.

Published by the *General Protestant Episcopal Sunday School Union*, and for sale at their Depository, No. 127 Broadway, corner of Cedar-street, first door north of the City Hotel, New-York.

Edward J. Swords, Printer.

1827.

Reproduction of the title-page of the General Protestant Episcopal Sunday School Union's *System of Instruction,* issued in 1827.

tory of Joseph and his brethren, and embraces the most interesting and instructive parts of that truly beautiful and captivating narrative. No. 3 contains the inimitable sermon of our Saviour on the mount; and No. 4, Fifty-four Lessons from Mrs. Trimmer's Easy Lessons of Scripture History, comprising the accounts of many of the most eminent characters in the Old and New Testaments. Interrupted and interspersed, as the lessons are, with spellings, general exercises, and lessons on other subjects, to each of which there is an assigned portion of time, ample variety is afforded, and the minds of children are kept constantly occupied without causing weariness or inattention. The regular and well arranged series of questions in each lesson, in each book, produce a perfect familiarity with the subjects, and the frequent examinations keep up a lively and vigorous attention. It is not the design of this system that the scholars should make unusually rapid strides by hurrying over the lessons in a confused, incoherent manner. On the contrary, the numerous questions and the frequent explanations tend to produce delay, but, at the same time, a perfect acquaintance with every branch of the different subjects.[129]

Catechism No. 1 was a Scripture Catechism, with brief glosses on difficult words and passages; it was intended as an introduction to the Church Catechism. Catechism No. 2 was the regular Church Catechism "broke into Short Questions and Answers." Catechism No. 3 was Bishop Hobart's *Explanation and Enlargement of the Church Catechism.*[130] There were also such books as *Questions on the Gospels and Epistles* and *Catechetical Explanation of the Festivals and Fasts,* beside alphabet cards, class books and roll books.

From time to time the Union increased its list of instruction books. One interesting addition was Lloyd's *Catechism on the Evidences of the Bible; in Easy Rhyme,* which appeared in 1829. By means of jingles, not all of them short, but all in answer to brief prose questions, Mr. Lloyd hoped to convey

[129] Whiting, Isaac N., Report of St. John's Church Sunday School, Worthington, Ohio, in *Third An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.,* p. 17.
[130] *First An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.,* p. 8.

Bible truths to youthful minds. A quotation from each of the five chapters will show the nature of this Catechism. Chapter I is on Revelation. The answer to the second question, *"Do we need a Revelation,"* is:

> Yes: man is always prone to stray,
> He needs a light to guide his way;
> To show the path to duty here,
> And make immortal prospects clear.

The second chapter touches the subject of Miracles. *"What is a miracle?"* is the Catechist's first question under this head. The answer is:

> A work above all human skill,
> Perform'd by our Creator's will,
> From whom the laws of nature came,
> And who alone can change the same.

Prophecy is the topic of the third chapter. *"What did Christ prophesy as to his sufferings, death and resurrection?"* He foretold:

> That he should num'rous woes sustain,
> And where, and how, he should be slain;
> That from the grave he should arise,
> And thus ascend above the skies.

In the fourth chapter the truth of the Scriptures is the theme. It takes fifteen lines to answer the question, *"What absurdities must they believe who reject the gospel?"* The last five of these lines read:

> Those who the word of God reject,
> Believe far more than they suspect;
> And, if they still the truth deny,
> They must all evidence defy,
> That they may love and trust a lie.

CATECHISM

ON THE

EVIDENCES OF THE BIBLE;

IN EASY RHYME.

INTENDED FOR THE YOUNG TO COMMIT TO MEMORY

By W. F. LLOYD.

SECOND EDITION.

STEREOTYPED BY JAS. CONNER, NEW-YORK.

New-York:

Published by the *General Protestant Episcopal Sunday School Union*, and for sale at their Depository, PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL PRESS BUILDINGS, No. 46 Lumber-Street, in the rear of TRINITY CHURCH, and at their different Branch Depositories.

Printed at the Protestant Episcopal Press, No. 8 Rector-Street.

1829

Reproduction of the title-page of Lloyd's *Catechism*, an early addition to the original series of graded lessons published by the General Protestant Episcopal Sunday School Union.

The last chapter concerns itself with the truth of the Bible as verified by its contents. One question here is, *"Does the great and gracious Character of Christ prove the truth of the Scriptures?"* The reply is a poem of thirty-six lines, of which the first four are:

> "God over all," in Christ we trace,
> Embodying virtue, truth, and grace;
> Holy and harmless, undefil'd,
> Was Jesus, even from a child.

Such material the Rev. R. B. Croes found too simple for older children, so he prepared for them some *"Questions on the Gospel according to St. Matthew,"* which the Union added to its list in 1830. In the preface, Croes explains how he had worked out his own rough scheme of grading. Beside the children who received help on their lessons at home there were a few who lacked this blessing; these recited *Catechism Number Three*. A Junior Bible Class composed of both boys and girls from eleven to sixteen years of age met for an hour on Sundays before the morning service, using Hobart's *Companion to the Prayer Book*, and, for a few of them, the *Catechism* just mentioned. Until Croes planned his *Questions on the Gospel according to St. Matthew* he had the pupils sixteen years old and over study Bible passages and Nelson's *Festivals and Fasts*.

The Union authorities planned an elaborate system of procedure at the school sessions. They divided the children into separately organized Male and Female Departments, as was customary at the time, with seven grades in each department. Sessions must last two hours, morning and afternoon, this time to be divided as follows:

1. Fifteen minutes for the opening devotions [an appropriate form of these devotions was published by the Union], for the calling of the roll by the Secretary, and for the organization of the classes. At the end of the period the Superintendent was to sound a small bell.

2. Twenty minutes for the first lesson in each class. Second bell.

3. Forty-five minutes for the second lesson "of every class," at the expiration of which time the bell was to be sounded once more.

4. Twenty-five minutes for the third lesson. The bell again, at the close of this period.

5. Fifteen minutes for replacing books, and closing prayers or singing, and preparation for public worship.

On this basis, morning lessons were to be:

	First Lesson	*Second Lesson*	*Third Lesson*
1st Class	Short Prayers	Alphabet from Cards	Catechism No. 1
2d Class	Short Prayers	No. 1, with questions	Catechism No. 2
3d Class	Short Prayers	No. 2, with questions	Catechism No. 2
4th Class	Catechism No. 2	No. 3, with questions	Spelling
5th Class	Collect for the Sunday	No. 4, with questions	Catechism No. 2
6th Class	Catechism No. 3	Epistle and Gospel, with questions	Use of Liturgy
7th Class	Catechism No. 3	Scripture Lesson, with questions	Festivals and Fasts

For the first, second, fourth and sixth classes the program was the same in the afternoon. The first afternoon lesson in the third class was spelling, and in the fifth class Catechism No. 2; the seventh class had the *Companion for the Prayer Book* and the *Harmony of the Creeds* for the first and the third afternoon lessons.[131]

According to the plans laid down in the *System of Instruction,* these schools were to be governed by a board of elected directors, of which the Rector was President *ex officio*.[132] The pupils were to be enrolled in a book supplied for that purpose;

[131] *System of Instruction,* pp. 10, 11.

[132] The Rector was merely a presiding officer. Matters of administration rested with the organization and with the superintendent, whom they elected. Later on, more will be said on this question of initiative.

new members were to be put into their proper grades, determined after examination by the superintendent. Teachers were to be enrolled in a separate book, in addition to which there was a book for keeping attendance by classes, and a minute book for recording the activities of the school. There should be promotions at stated times, the Union claimed, "say once in six months"; considering the attachment formed between pupils and teachers, promotion by classes appeared to be the best way. Visitation of absentees was strongly recommended, to be done by the teacher, or, in large schools, by a regular visiting officer. No rewards seemed wise, beyond tickets, redeemable with Bibles, Prayer Books and the Union's publications. The library could be used as an incentive to good behavior by issuing books only to those who thus had deserved the privilege.[133]

3. ACTIVITIES OF THE UNION

After drudging along for a little more than a year and a half, the Union believed that its permanency was then assured "by the number, respectability and efficiency of its auxiliaries; by the great and increasing demand for its publications; by the general approbation they have received; by the opening liberality of its friends; by the influence of its contemplated magazine, in the dissemination of valuable information; by the exertions of its travelling agents; by its possession of no less than thirty sets of stereotype plates, which, when all are completed that are in the hands of the founder, will have cost at least twelve hundred dollars; by the powerful momentum it has already received; and by the blessing of God upon the future diligence and fidelity of its Executive Committee."[134] These elements in the Union's possible success may be examined under three comprehensive topics,—*Publications, Agencies* and *Finances.*

[133] *System of Instruction,* pp. 4 ff.
[134] *Second An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.,* pp. 20, 21.

(a) *Publications*

Some of the Union's early publications have already been mentioned. During the first year, much preliminary work had to be done,[135] but the second year of the Union's life was prolific, as may be seen by the following table of publications during the year which ended June 26, 1828:

Titles	*Pages*	*No. of Editions*	*No. of Copies*
System of Instruction	18	2	5000
P. E. S. S. Book No. 1	12	5	7000
do. No. 2	20	4	9000
do. No. 3	24	2	6000
do. No. 4	64	1	5000
Questions on the S. S. Books	56	1	2000
Harmony of the Creeds[136]	24	1	5000
Catechism No. 1	12	2	6000
do. No. 2	24	2	6000
do. No. 3	108	3	4000
Paraphrases on the Collects	1	2	6000
Sunday School Register	96	1	250
Sunday School Minute Book	112	1	250
General Class Book	40	1	250
Teachers' Class Book	16	1	1850
Teachers' Roll Book	48	1	250
Reward Tickets, Bible Texts	4	2	2500
Questions on the Liturgy	18	1	1000
Sunday School Liturgy[137]	12	1	1000

[135] *Cf. First An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U., passim.*

[136] The full title was *Harmony of the Creeds, with Scripture Proofs; Illustrations of the Lord's Prayer; and the Plan of Salvation; principally from Stonehouse.*

[137] The full title was *An Office of Devotion, or Liturgy, for the use of Sunday Schools.* It was compiled by Bishop Hobart. The opening devotions included an Exhortation to the children, the regular Prayer Book Confession, a brief Absolution, Psalm, Creed, Versicles and optional Prayers. The closing devotions consisted of Prayer and Benediction. On the last page were printed "Directions for Behaviour."

PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL

SUNDAY SCHOOL BOOK

NUMBER FOUR;

FROM

MRS. TRIMMER'S

EASY LESSONS OF SCRIPTURE HISTORY.

STEREOTYPED BY JAMES CONNER, NEW-YORK.

New-York:

Published by the *General Protestant Episcopal Sunday School Union*, and for sale at their Depository, No. 127 Broadway, corner of Cedar-street, first door north of the City Hotel, and at their different Branch Depositories.

Edward J. Swords, Printer.

1827.

Reproduction of the title-page of the *General Protestant Episcopal Sunday School Union Book Number Four,* which was the last of the *Union's* graded series of books for Sunday School instruction.

Titles	*Pages*	*No. of Editions*	*No. of Copies*
Alphabet Cards, Nos. 1, 2 & 3		1 each	3000
Questions on the Collects	88	1	1000
Duffie's Sermon to Children	12	2	2000
The M'Ellen Family[138]	36	1	2000
Mary and Jane	8	2	2000
Short Prayers for Children	16	1	1000

In addition, there were circulars, reports, etc., making a grand total for the year of 51 editions, 76,750 copies, and 2,134,375 pages.[139]

At this time the Union already possessed thirty sets of stereotype plates, including the plates for all of the standard works in the above list. The following books were stereotyped, and in the hands of the printers:

The Raven and the Dove, 32 pages, 32mo.
Susan and her Lamb, 16 pages, 32mo.
Nosegay of Honeysuckles, 16 pages, 32mo.
Dialogues for Children, Part 1, 40 pages, 32mo.
Sunday School Child's Reward, 24 pages, 32mo.

Stereotype plates were being prepared for the following:

First Part of the Questions on the Epistles and Gospels.
The Story of the Little Beggars, 36 pages, 18mo, by Mrs. Sherwood.

[138] *The M'Ellen Family* was written by the Rev. John A. Clark, who later wrote other popular books about the Church. (Advertisements in Clark's *A Walk about Zion*, pp. 1, 5, tell us that Clark was the author of *The Pastor's Testimony* and *Gathered Fragments*, as well as of *The M'Ellen Family*.)

[139] Compiled from *Second An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.*, pp. 11, 12. Some of the prices were: *System of Instruction*, three cents each, $.31¼ a dozen or $2.03 a hundred; S. S. Book No. 1, two cents each, $.18¾ a dozen or $1.25 a hundred; the other three S. S. Books were, respectively, $.02, $.20, $1.50; $.02, $.23, $1.75; and $.05, $.50, $3.87½. Catechisms No. 1 and No. 2 cost, by the dozen, $.20 and $.31¼ respectively. The *Harmony of the Creeds* cost three cents each or .31¼ cents a dozen. Class books were ten cents each. (*Cf. First An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.*, p. 27, for these and other prices.)

The Pink Tippet, 72 pages, 18mo, Parts 1, 2, 3 & 4, by Mrs. Cameron.
The Miller's Daughter, an original narrative, 36 pages, 18mo.
The First Day of the Week, 88 pages, 18mo.
The Last Day of the Week, 88 pages, 18mo.
The Week Completed, 95 pages, 18mo.
Dialogues for Youth, Part 2, 62 pages, 32mo.
Easy Questions for a Little Child, 48 pages, 32mo, by Mrs. Sherwood.
Procrastination, a story by Mrs. Sherwood, 18 pages, 18mo.[140]

This last-mentioned book was a warning against youthful neglect of religion. It was a "practical and Powerful comment on the text 'Remember now thy Creator, in the days of thy youth, while the evil days come not.' "[141] The volume had a frontispiece and several cuts, illustrating the pathetic narrative of Edward Crawford, who was "lying under sentence of death in one of our country gaols." *The Miller's Daughter, or The Lord's Prayer applied to Practice,* was a story of a girl named Ellen, who became deeply pious through reading a Bible containing the Lord's Prayer illustrated, given to her by a dying friend.[142]

The following advertisements intimate the nature of some more of the above books:

The Pink Tippet: 18mo, 68 pages, 60 cts. per dozen.

An excellent little story, from the pen of Mrs. Cameron, whom we do not hesitate to pronounce the best writer for youth within our knowledge. The story is intended to inculcate consistent Christian conduct, and especially plainness and decency in dress. It is com-

[140] *Second An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.,* pp. 12, 13, 21. Sample prices were: *Raven and Dove,* 3 cents each; the "Week" books, 12½ cents each. Dozen prices, 25 cents and $1.31¼ respectively (*First An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.,* p. 27).

[141] *The Family Visiter and Sunday School Magazine,* I, No. 1 (Jan. 3, 1829), p. 11.

[142] Descriptive Catalogue, attached to *Sixth Trien. Rep., Bd. Mgrs., G. P. E. S. S. U.,* pp. 13, 19.

prised in four Parts, all of which, together with an addition of two appropriate hymns and some scriptural authorities on the subject of the work, stated in the way of question and answer, are contained in this little book. It is decorated with three handsome cuts.

The Little Beggars: 36 pages, 18mo, 40 cts. per dozen.

A well known story by the talented friend of children, Mrs. Sherwood. It depicts in a forcible manner the opposite effects of religious principles and a neglect of them.[143]

In *The Little Beggars,* Wilhelm and his wife, honest and industrious German mountaineers, are contrasted with their neighbors, Hugo and Ursula, who live by begging in the streets; the story illustrates the proverb, "Honesty is the best policy."[144]

At the end of three years the Union had published 149,000 copies of its various books, pamphlets and cards; for the Sunday School books and cards there were forty-six sets of stereotype plates. During the next few years the number of publications increased steadily. In 1832 the Union had a list of fifty-one lesson books and cards and seventy-nine books for school libraries and for juvenile use in the home.[145] By another three years it had added eight new books of instruction and sixty-six library books.[146]

At the beginning of the year 1829 the Union started two periodicals, *The Family Visiter and Sunday School Magazine,* for adults, and the *Children's Magazine.* A prospectus in the first issue of the former announced six departments: *Biography,* especially of talented children or of people interested in religious education; *Original Essays; Reviews* of books of educational value; *Short Stories; Miscellaneous Articles;* and *Intelli-*

[143] *The Family Visiter and Sunday School Magazine,* I, No. 1 (Jan. 3, 1829), p. 11.

[144] Descriptive Catalogue, attached to the *Sixth Trien. Rep., Bd. Mgrs., G. P. E. S. S. U.,* p. 19.

[145] *Trien. Rep., Bd. Mgrs., G. P. E. S. S. U.,* 1829 and 1832, pp. 5; 17, 18.

[146] *Proceedings of the Third Trien. Meeting, G. P. E. S. S. U.,* 1835, p. 9.

gence, that is, news items, book notices, and the like. The other magazine, as its name indicates, was for children.[147]

By June the circulation of the *Visiter* was 1250 and of the *Children's Magazine* nearly 5000.[148] During the next year this latter figure was increased by a thousand, but the *Visiter* was not so successful. This adult periodical gave up at the end of two years and then started again as a "small weekly sheet," which experienced the same lack of patronage and, in the first part of the year 1833, ceased altogether. Meanwhile, the *Children's Magazine* increased in favor.[149] In 1835 it had a regular *circulation* of 7500 copies.[150] In January, 1835, the Union revived its adult magazine under the name of *The Sunday School Visiter.*

In 1827 the Union started a depository at the bookstore of T. and J. Swords, at 127 Broadway, putting Mr. Thomas N. Stanford in charge. By another year the business had increased to such an extent that the organization borrowed money and started the *New York Protestant Episcopal Press,* to publish its magazines and books, and to do other printing and binding. By erecting an imposing three-story building on land secured back of Trinity Churchyard, the *Press* provided a fitting place for the depository, which was now guided by Mr. John V. Van Ingen, and for its extensive work of turning out printed matter.[150] There one could get, not only the Sunday School Union's various publications, but also those of the *New York Protestant Episcopal Tract Society* and of the *Auxiliary New York Bible and Common Prayer Book Society.* Further, the *Press* obligingly kept a list of "names and lodgings of visitors, for the

[147] The *Visiter* was issued fortnightly, 12 pp. duodecimo, at a dollar a year. The *Children's Magazine* was only twenty-five cents a year for the twelve monthly issues, 24 pp., 18 mo.

[148] *Third An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.,* p. 8.

[149] *Cf. Reports, G. P. E. S. S. U.;* fifth annual, p. 12; seventh do., pp. 8, 9; triennial, 1829-1832, p. 5.

[150] *First An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.,* pp. 10, 11; second do., p. 38; third do., p. 12.

CHILDREN'S MAGAZINE.

VOL. I. JANUARY 1, 1829. No. 1

Father. Here's a parcel from the post-office, Robert; and it has something in it, I am pretty sure, for you.

Robert. For me, father! what can it be? oh! I think I know!—Has the little magazine come at last?

Father. It has indeed.

Robert. Oh, I am *so* glad! sister! Jane! our Children's Magazine has come. Are not you glad?

Reproduction of page one of the first number of the *Children's Magazine,* published regularly for many years by the General Protestant Episcopal Sunday School Union.

facilitation of mutual intercourse," and would also deliver parcels and letters having to do with Church matters.[151]

(b) *Agencies and Auxiliaries*

A branch depository opened in Auburn, New York, under the supervision of the faithful Dr. John C. Rudd,[152] was soon followed by others in different parts of the country. By the summer of 1828 the Union had agencies in Columbus and in Worthington, Ohio; in Charleston, Richmond, Baltimore and Philadelphia; and in Utica, New York. New England had such establishments at Middlebury and at Bellows Falls, Vermont, at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and in Boston, Hartford and New Haven.[153] A year later Granville, Rochester and Albany, New York, and Newbern, North Carolina, had been added to the list.[154] As these scattered agencies thus increased in number they gave rise to problems, financial as well as administrative. The opening of a depository in Providence, under the responsibility of a recently organized Diocesan Auxiliary to the Union, pointed the way to higher efficiency, which the Union was quick to see.[155] By 1831 it had fixed the policy of maintaining only such Diocesan units. Thereafter, local depositories came into being only under "peculiar circumstances." In Ohio the Diocesan Society put in a large supply of publications for the Sunday Schools there. At Wilmington, North Carolina, the agent of the Bible, Prayer Book, Tract and Missionary Society did likewise. At Charleston, South Carolina, the Diocesan Sunday School Society established a well-stocked depository. These improved methods of distribution, the Union believed, would be advantageous in other Dioceses.[156]

[151] *Cf.* Advertisement, *Churchman's Almanac*, 1830, back cover, inside.
[152] *First An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.*, p. 15.
[153] *Second An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.*, pp. 7, 8.
[154] *Third An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.*, p. 7.
[155] *Fourth An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.*, p. 9.
[156] *Fifth An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.*, pp. 10, 11.

In 1828, when the Executive Committee was reassured by the "number, respectability and efficiency" of the Union's auxiliaries, there were one hundred and forty-six of them, embracing about 1350 teachers and something like 17,000 children.[157] This means that the sixty-two Sunday Schools and Sunday School Societies which joined the Union in the first year of its existence had more than doubled in the course of the second year; the number of teachers and children involved had increased in about the same proportion.[158] The next year the growth was less rapid. In 1829 the auxiliaries numbered one hundred and seventy-two, which included the Diocesan Societies of Maine, Massachusetts, Connecticut and New Jersey; coöperating superintendents and teachers totalled sixteen hundred, while the number of affiliated pupils was eighteen thousand. In 1832 there were nine auxiliary Diocesan organizations to report, and three hundred and twenty-nine societies and schools.[159] Three years later, there were about fifty more auxiliaries; the Union's officers estimated that just about half of the schools of the Church were then related to the central organization.[160]

Travelling agents have been mentioned as proofs of the solidity of the Union. On April 18, 1828, the Rev. William R. Whittingham was commissioned to visit the chief cities of the country and spread interest in the organization. He went to Philadelphia; Burlington, New Jersey; Baltimore, Annapolis and Boston. Kindly received, he secured the assistance of Mr. John V. Van Ingen to solicit contributions.[161] This promising combination ended soon, however, for Whittingham yielded to pressure from other directions and gave up. It was a difficult matter to locate a successor, but he was at last found in the

[157] *Second An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.*, p. 20.
[158] *Cf. First An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.*, p. 14.
[159] *Trien. Rep., Bd. Mgrs., G. P. E. S. S. U.*, 1829 and 1832, pp. 7, 14.
[160] *Proceedings of the Third Trien. Meeting of the G. P. E. S. S. U.*, p. 7.
[161] *Second An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.*, pp. 10, 11.

person of the Rev. Henry Gregory, recently ordained a Deacon.[162] He left New York June 26, 1829, and spent the next three months visiting many of the towns and cities in the interior of New York State, reaching "upwards of thirty parishes, containing twenty-six Sunday Schools, and the greater part of them Auxiliary to the General Union." Then he journeyed on through Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina. Toward the end of the following April he resigned.[163] For a few months the Union was again without a travelling agent.

In the autumn of 1830 Mr. Joseph W. Ingraham, the indefatigable superintendent of Christ Church Sunday School, Boston, accepted the position temporarily,[164] in connection with a contemplated trip on private business.[165] He visited twenty-eight schools in New York and Philadelphia.

A matter of amazement to him was the prevailing custom of organizing schools independently of the Rector.[166] The General Union had heartily approved of placing the Rector at the head of the Sunday School,[167] and yet the form of constitution which the Union recommended for adoption by local schools provided that the board of managers of the school elect a superintendent, in whom was vested full power to choose all the teachers. The Rector could only nominate the superintend-

[162] *Third An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.*, p. 7.

[163] Gregory, Henry, Report, in *Fourth An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.*, pp. 92-95.

[164] The position was a makeshift, probably because of lack of funds. Whittingham was in poor health and Gregory (*Trien. Rep., Bd. Mgrs., G. P. E. S. S. U.*, 1829 and 1832, p. 4) was travelling for his health. Ingraham was the last travelling agent appointed until 1835.

[165] *Fifth An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.*, p. 7. He was gone seventeen weeks (*ibid.*, p. 27).

[166] *Episc. Watchman*, Apr. 23, 1831, p. 395. In one case a Rector had had to disband a school and reorganize it, and in another case, where the Rector was unable to do this, he had opened a Sunday School in opposition to that of the superintendent!

[167] *Second An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.*, p. 20.

ent and pass judgment on the teachers whom he appointed.[168] Ingraham maintained that the instruction of the people in the Sunday School was the right and *duty* of the Rector, who was the one to appoint the superintendent; naturally he would choose a man fit for the position. Once appointed, Ingraham said, the superintendent was a substitute for the Rector, and should be responsible to the Rector for the character of the school.[169] Eventually, as we know, these views came to prevail, but only after time and some hard experiences had taught their lessons.

(c) *Finances*

From the beginning, the Union experienced urgent need of money. During the first year the receipts from all sources were only a little more than a thousand dollars.[170] In November, 1827, the executive committee decided to appeal to every clergyman of the Church for an annual offering; only two responded.[171] A more successful plan for increasing the funds was that of having a graded sustaining membership; annual members were those who paid three dollars or more a year, while the payment of one hundred or fifty or thirty dollars at

[168] Form of Constitution, arranged by Exec. Com., June 28, 1827, reprinted in *First An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.*, 1827, pp. 24, 25 (especially Arts. IV, VI, VII, VIII).

The Union was strangely inconsistent on this point. Its *System of Instruction* had declared the Sunday School to be only "an extended species of catechetical instruction" to help the clergy. The teachers were voluntary assistants to the minister, like the lay catechists of old. The clergyman could not take the time to superintend the school, so he was made President of the Sunday School Society, *ex officio*. His general supervision would preserve the religious character of the school (*System of Instruction*, p. 4). But when the Union issued a form of constitution for local societies to adopt, that document deprived the minister of any possible superintendence of the Sunday School. This was just what Ingraham found to be an evil.

[169] *Fourth An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.*, pp. 27, 28. We should remember that Sunday Schools were comparatively new departments of the Church, and still carried traditions of independent existence and management.

[170] *First An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.*, p. 15.

[171] *Second An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.*, p. 9.

one time made a person a patron, a life manager or a life member.[172] By this means and through expanding business and helpful donations the figures for the first three years were:

Total receipts,	$6775.00
Total expenses,	6373.62
Balance,	$ 401.38

During the next triennium the receipts mounted to $16,314.36, and in 1835 the total receipts for the preceding three years had been $21,985.23. In 1832 the total value of the property of the Union was reported to be as follows:

Stereotype plates,	$ 2,404.12
Books and other publications,	3,451.94
Furniture, etc., and books at the depository not catalogued,	863.73
Debts due the Union,	5,254.34
	$11,974.13
Debts owed by the Union,	6,621.36
Balance in favor of the Union,	$ 5,352.77

By 1835 the valuation had increased to $17,229.93, but there was a debt of nearly $10,000. The property was insured for $8000.[173]

4. LEARNING THROUGH EXPERIENCE

All the while, the Union was gathering valuable experience and weighing results. There was a lesson of statistics which must have brought some dismay to headquarters. The year 1831 began with something like four hundred and thirty-four

[172] *First An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.*, p. 3.

[173] *Trien. Rep., Bd. Mgrs., G. P. E. S. S. U.*, 1829 and 1832, pp. 8, 9; 1835, pp. 9, 11, 14.

Episcopal Sunday Schools in the United States, two hundred and seventy-nine of which belonged to the General Union.[174] In 1835 the Union estimated that there were seven hundred or more Episcopal Sunday Schools, only one-half of which were members of the Union. This means that in the nine years of the Union's existence, half the Sunday Schools of the country had not seen fit to embrace the opportunities it offered. For an organization which had started out to bring into one system all the Sunday Schools of the Church, this was not a good showing. The Union complained that it had met apathy and even opposition; that "the bounty of Episcopalians did not flow into it" to the extent that had been anticipated; that the depositories had not handled as many books as had been expected; and that its periodicals had not been supported as well as they deserved. Nevertheless, the Union felt that brighter days were ahead.[175]

Of the Sunday Schools which did belong to the Union, many did not employ its full scheme of operation and system of instruction; some made use of other plans altogether.[176] At St. Paul's Church, Boston, the Rector himself selected the lessons, all from the Bible and the Prayer Book. The Collect for the day was part of every lesson; there were readings from the Old Testament and passages committed to memory from the New Testament.[177] At St. Anne's Church, Lowell, Massachusetts, the regular lessons were the same for the entire school,—twenty to thirty verses from the New Testament, to be committed to memory, in whole or in part, according to ability and opportunity. *Extra* lessons were taken from the instruction books recommended by the Union.[178] Reading and spelling were taught to those who needed them. The General Theological

[174] *Episc. Watchman,* Apr. 23, 1831, p. 395.
[175] *Third Trien. Rep., Bd. Mgrs., G. P. E. S. S. U.,* pp. 5, 7.
[176] *Ibid.,* p. 14.
[177] *Fourth An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.,* p. 20.
[178] These extra lessons were put in according to "the wishes of the parents and the proficiency of the children."

Seminary Sunday School, in New York, found that lack of punctuality and the fluctuating character of the population from which the school was drawn prevented the use of the stated periods advised by the Union. The work was chiefly on the New Testament, the Catechism and the Liturgy of the Church, which were explained by the teachers; there were weekly oral examinations, "en masse," by the superintendent on the lesson of the day. Christ Church, New York, used the materials of the Union, but in a considerably different order from that prescribed by headquarters. In Charleston, South Carolina, the Union's course of instruction was in use "so far as our local circumstances would permit."[179]

In the Sunday School of Christ Church, Hartford, the religious exercises were not those of the Union. In the morning the children gathered by classes on either side of the organ, each with a Prayer Book. After finding out, through being questioned, the Sunday of the Christian year on which they were gathered, the children put book-marks into the proper places in the Prayer Books. Then followed the service of Morning Prayer, with one Psalm, and one lesson consisting of the Gospel or the Epistle of the day. The children chanted the Venite, and a canticle after the lesson. Some of the prayers used were taken from the "Office of Devotions or Liturgy for the Use of Sunday Schools." The service ended with singing. This was not mere experiment; for nine years it had proved to be the best way of conducting the religious exercises of the Sunday School.[180]

A similar plan was followed in the Sunday School of St. Anne's Church, Lowell, Massachusetts, where the lessons, as we just noted, were quite different from the Union's requirements. Following the morning religious exercises, the clergyman

[179] *Fifth An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.*, pp. 35, 51, 55, 58. The superintendent at Christ Church, New York, reported that the changes were necessary, but the Union asked, "Wherein did the *necessity* consist?"

[180] *Fourth An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.*, pp. 33, 34.

explained the Scripture lesson, verse by verse; then the school resolved itself into classes. At the afternoon session the children recited to the teachers as much of the Scripture lesson as they had memorized, following which the teachers went over with them the meaning of the verses and then reëmphasized the observations of the morning. After sufficient opportunity for additional exercises or recitations, the clergyman took charge of the gathering. He would ask a question about some verse of the lesson, whereupon all who could answer would rise to their feet. Then he would call on one of these children, by name, to give the answer. After the answer, all sat down again and the process was repeated. When the lesson, or as much of it as time allowed, had been covered in this fashion, with the minister's remarks and explanations interspersed, the session closed with a shortened Evening Prayer Service. One school in New York State went so far as to give up the Sunday School work altogether during the winter of 1830-1831 in order to teach the children church music![181]

Contemplating this diversity, the Union expected to issue a new system of instruction, but the committee appointed for the purpose came to the conclusion that, considering the infinitely various circumstances of the different schools, it would be impossible to devise a general plan to meet all conditions. In the committee's own words, the different reasons given for not conforming to the Union's plan of instruction were:

> The complexity of the present system, the great variety of exercises which it contemplates, the very short time allowed to each, and the consequent inadequate instruction imparted to the pupils, the confusion likely to intervene amidst such frequent changes of books, the length of some of the catechisms used, and the impracticability

[181] *Fifth An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.*, pp. 35, 64. The services in Lowell were shortened Morning Prayer and Evening Prayer, without Psalter and Lesson. The musical Sunday School was at Warsaw, Genesee County, New York.

of finding time during the week for such extensive recitations on Sunday.

Another difficulty was that some of the schools were now holding only one session each Sunday, instead of the two Sunday gatherings provided for by the Union. Dismissing, then, all hope of a practicable comprehensive scheme, the committee declared itself in favor of three general principles: that every school should be under the supervision of the clergyman of the parish; that all instruction given in Sunday Schools, except to those unable to read, should be religious in character, with the Bible as the foundation; and that the Scriptures should be interpreted through the Prayer Book and the Catechism of the Church. The committee further recommended that the system of instruction for each Sunday School, including the time and manner of using explanations of the Church Catechism, be left entirely to the minister's discretion.[182]

By adopting this report, the Union naturally committed itself to the policies contained therein. There was not much point in declaring the Sunday Schools to be institutions of religious education, for by this time that is what they had generally come to be; the multiplying day schools had taken over the burden of teaching children to read and write. What was very significant was the position now granted to the Church and to its ordained ministers. Up to this time the Episcopal Sunday Schools had not been very "churchly." They could not have been so in the early days, when they were a charitable combination of reform school and means of learning to read; later on, both the Catechism and the Bible were used as memoriter material, but they were used side by side. Now that the need of explanation was increasing, some authority was required; the Union took the churchly position that the Prayer Book, with the Catechism contained in it, was the guide to the under-

[182] *Third Trien. Rep., Bd. Mgrs., G. P. E. S. S. U.*, pp. 14-16.

standing even of the Bible itself. In the model constitution issued by the Union in 1827 for the adoption of local Sunday School Societies, the only initiative allowed to the Rector was the nomination of a superintendent, who was to be elected by, and held responsible to, the board of managers of the school. Now the Union was quite willing to leave to the Rector the complete supervision of the school, including the entire arrangement of the lesson materials.

Although we must give the Union credit for attention to the voice of ripe experience, the fact remains that its general plan had failed; its carefully devised scheme of lessons did not fit, its elaborate time-schedule had gone awry, and its original plan of organization was appropriate now only to a stage of existence which the Episcopal Sunday Schools had already outgrown. It had become clear that if the Sunday School was to be an instrument of effective religious education, it fell within the province of the trained expert in religion, namely, the minister of the parish; if the Sunday School was to be a submissive handmaid of the Church, its lessons must be guided by the Church's official teachings.

The Union must have felt the merciless logic of the situation, for it had not only receded from its former position of claimed authority in Sunday School matters, but it was nearly ready to turn its administrative affairs over to the general Church. At the Triennial Meeting in 1835 the Board of Managers were instructed to investigate and report on the question as to whether it would not be well to entrust the operations of the society to a board appointed by the General Convention, "and render the continuance of the Society thereafter unnecessary."[183] Four of the committee believed that the proposed step should be taken; the one member who opposed did so because he believed that, although the instruction of the young properly belonged to the parish minister, the Union might still have the

[183] *Third Trien. Rep., Bd. Mgrs., G. P. E. S. S. U.*, pp. 16-20.

duty of publishing materials for that instruction, a matter which should not be added to the burdens of the General Convention. Perceiving that there could not be the desired unanimity in the matter, the Board voted to postpone it indefinitely.[184]

C. *SUNDAY SCHOOL PROGRESS UP TO 1835*

1. CATECHIZATION WITHIN AND WITHOUT THE SUNDAY SCHOOL

Meanwhile, what was the status of catechization? It would not be fair to say that it had been replaced by the work done in the Sunday Schools, because these organizations were teaching the Catechism, and for other instructions were using the question-and-answer method. As if anticipating a possible submersion of the good old practice of catechization, the House of Bishops, in 1817, reminded the clergy of the twenty-second canon, requiring "diligence in catechetical instruction and lectures," which the Bishops regarded as "among the most important duties of clergymen, and among the most effectual means of promoting religious knowledge and practical piety."[185] Bishop Hobart was a strong advocate of old-fashioned catechetical exercises;[186] so was Bishop Doane,[187] as was his predecessor, Bishop Croes.[188] Since catechization was the one prescribed teaching method of the Church, it was natural that its high officers should lay stress on it. The Sunday Schools were teaching the Catechism, and a great deal besides; they were now organizing and instructing large numbers of children gathered literally from the "highways and hedges," and from such

[184] *Fourth Trien. Rep., Bd. Mgrs., G. P. E. S. S. U.*, pp. 6, 7, 22-26. The one who opposed the idea of giving up was Francis H. Cuming, Secretary of the Union.

[185] *Jour., Gen. Conv.*, 1817, p. 43.

[186] McVickar, *Prof. Yrs. of Hobart*, p. 69.

[187] Doane, G. W., *The Church's Care for little Children, passim.* Doane became one of the leaders in a reaction from Sunday School work as we have described it, toward old-fashioned catechization.

[188] *Ibid.*, p. 35.

obscure and ill-omened passageways as "Henchman's Lane,"—children who otherwise would seldom or never have looked on a Catechism.

Outside the Sunday Schools, catechization went on its traditional way, although naturally the process was weakened by this new institution of broader scope, which for a long time threatened to overshadow it. This danger was avoided at Christ Church, Poughkeepsie, New York, by making the explanation of the Catechism and the Collects the chief business of the Sunday School.[189] At St. Michael's Church, Charleston, South Carolina, the regular Sunday School exercises were suspended altogether during Lent, in order to give catechization full sway.[190] On Saturday afternoons during Lent, the Rector of St. Anne's Church, Lowell, Massachusetts, catechized the children.[191] There were a number of Rectors, who, like the Rector of St. James's Church, Lancaster, Pennsylvania,[192] catechized the children regularly during the Sunday School time; in other parishes in Pennsylvania the children were systematically catechized.[193] In Mississippi[194] and New Jersey, catechization was a regular Diocesan practice; Bishop Doane urged on the Diocese of New Jersey the advantages of catechetical instruction, and at his visitations to the different parishes it was his custom to hold public catechetical exercises.[195] One may say, then, that although in the enthusiasm of the Sunday School movement catechization was weakened in some places and suspended in others, there was more of it done, on the whole, than ever before; within the Sunday Schools it was taken up as part of the regular work, and outside the Sunday Schools it was a prescribed duty which continued to be performed.

[189] *Fifth An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.*, p. 72.
[190] *Christian Journal*, Jan., 1822, p. 17.
[191] *Fifth An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.*, p. 36.
[192] *Ibid.*, p. 83.
[193] *Jours., Pa.*, 1827, p. 40; 1835, pp. 37, 38, 44.
[194] *Jours., Gen. Conv.*, 1826, p. 55; 1832, p. 51.
[195] *Jour., Gen. Conv.*, 1835, pp. 34, 35.

2. "INFANT" SUNDAY SCHOOLS

During the second quarter of the nineteenth century, large numbers of young children were added to the Sunday Schools and kept by themselves in what were called "Infant" Schools or Departments. In 1816, at the time Episcopal Sunday Schools were springing into being, the idea of educating very young children in secular "Infant" Schools came to this country from England.[196] By the time Sunday Schools were well established they, too, began to extend their privileges to children as young as the age of three years. On September 20, 1827, the Rev. Gregory T. Bedell, Rector of St. Andrew's Church, Philadelphia, started what his biographer calls "the first Infant Sunday School known in the United States, and, as far as we are apprized, in the world." There were forty children at the start; in a year, this number increased to eighty-four.[197] By the summer of 1830 this school had one hundred names on its roll, and the "Infant" Department at St. Peter's Church, Philadelphia, had eighty, in charge of two teachers and three assistants. That year St. Philip's Church, in Charleston, South Carolina, opened such a school with an enrollment of eleven, and at about the same time St. Mark's Church, New York City, started a similar department of its Sunday School.[198] This latter venture achieved notable success.[199] For this new form of Sunday School work, the Episcopal Church needed a system of instruction.[200] At Christ Church, Boston, the "infant scholars" were kept in the school rooms during the church service, in charge of one of the

[196] Cubberley, *Pub. Ed. in the U. S.*, p. 97; the movement began with Robert Owen's school for young factory children.

[197] Tyng, *Memoir of Bedell*, pp. 245, 246.

[198] *Fourth An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.*, pp. 45, 59, 62, 73.

[199] *Fifth An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.*, p. 56.

[200] The report from Charleston announcing the opening of the "Infant" School there contains a request for such a system. Also Trinity Church, New Haven, suggested the need of instructions for the little ones (*Fifth An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.*, p. 44). The system of instruction issued by the General Sunday School Union in 1827, the same year that Bedell started his "Infant" School in Philadelphia, made no provision for such young children.

teachers. Here some of their parents, who were not dressed well enough to go to church, often visited them.[201] Something like a curriculum was worked out for the "Infant" School at St. James's, Philadelphia; they found the most satisfaction in telling Bible stories and illustrating them with pictures.[202] No doubt much teaching ingenuity was required in various places, for these little children were coming more and more to Sunday Schools with their older brothers and sisters,—and their attendance had not been contemplated in the first plans of Sunday Schools. They were not as well understood in those early days as they came to be later, after knowledge of Froebel's kindergarten methods had awakened a new appreciation of, and a sense of educational responsibility for, young children.

3. THE DEMOCRATIZATION OF SUNDAY SCHOOLS

Between 1825 and 1830 the Sunday Schools began to change from charity institutions to schools for the religious instruction of all,—high and low, rich and poor.[203] By 1829 the barriers between the poor and the well-to-do had partly disappeared in Richmond, Virginia; at the Monumental Church there the Sunday School had grown through accessions from the latter class of children. The Sunday School was "no longer confined to the poorer classes of society; the principle is no longer acted upon, that they who can afford to provide instruction for their children on week-days are under no obligation to give them systematic religious education on the Lord's day." The managers hoped for the day "when the prejudices, whatever they may be, which operate upon the minds of some individuals, in

[201] *Fourth An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.*, p. 23. The curriculum is not given. The other children had to go to church.

[202] *Ibid.*, p. 61.

[203] Note I, appended to G. W. Doane's sermon on *The Sunday School Teacher* (pub. 1831), calls attention to the fact that in New England the idea that Sunday Schools were only for the children of the poor was not so strong as it was in other parts of the country. In New England, "high and low, rich and poor, meet together," the note says.

reference to Sunday Schools, will be entirely removed, and that all the younger part of our Congregations, without distinction, will be trained in their salutary and holy exercises."[204] From Elizabethtown, New Jersey, came word to the same effect. There was still prejudice in the minds of some, but the greater part of the congregation no longer believed that Sunday Schools were only for the children of the poor; they demonstrated their belief by sending their children to the Sunday School.[205] The same thing was happening in Philadelphia; by about 1830 the schools in and near that city contained many sons and daughters of the congregation. For some reason, not given, Christ Church Sunday School lagged behind the others, but it was gradually falling into line.[206]

Naturally, the change was slower in the large cities, where class distinctions were greater, than it was in the more democratic smaller towns. In 1831 the *New York Protestant Episcopal Sunday School Society* felt that the time had come to plead for the religious education of New York children "in better worldly circumstances." The managers complained that "in many parishes, the children of the poor have far better opportunities for a full and thorough course of religious instruction" than the girls and boys in the higher walks of life. "This ought not so to be . . . in the sight of God both are equal."[207]

It appears, then, that Sunday Schools teaching religion con-

[204] *Third An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.*, 1829, p. 22.
[205] *Fourth An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.*, 1830, p. 56.
[206] *Fifth An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.*, 1831, p. 79.
[207] *Fourteenth An. Rep., Bd. Mgrs., N. Y. P. E. S. S. Soc.*, 1831, p. 22. New York State itself furnishes a good illustration of the more rapid growth of democracy in the Sunday schools of smaller places. When New York City was pleading for the extension of Sunday School opportunities to the children of the congregations, the majority of Sunday School children at St. Luke's, Rochester, were from the families of the congregation. At St. John's Church, Canandaigua, there were many children of the congregation in the Sunday School, and the school was working then to hold the interests of the "children of poorer families, for whose benefit, more particularly, the original establishment of schools of this kind was providentially designed" (*Fifth An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.*, pp. 62, 63).

tained seeds of inevitable democracy, which was now forcing its appearance. The original Sunday School entreaty was for the children of ignorance and poverty and vice; now it was for the children of families whose more ample means permitted week-day education and whose better home life insured a certain minimum of vice. These more favored children were now asked to come to Sunday School for *religious education*. At least two things are clear. In the first place, they would not be urged to come to Sunday School for religious education unless that kind of instruction could be secured there. The passing of the "charity" idea of the Sunday School and the completion of the religious-teaching school were contemporaneous. In the second place, the children of the well-to-do could not be expected to join the Sunday Schools if those institutions were for just one class of children, as had formerly been the case. What had been a real privilege extended to poor children was now open to all who cared to come.

4. SOME PROBLEMS AND WORKING CONDITIONS

Some of the problems of Sunday Schools seem to be inherent in the institution. There were complaints of lack of teachers and want of suitable accommodations, even as there are today. There were absences for which to account. The Episcopal Missionary Sunday School in Boston learned that some of their absentees did not get out of bed early enough, and that others lacked the proper clothing; in fact, they heard "every other excuse which the ingenuity of idleness could invent." At Christ Church, Norwich, Connecticut, the most frequent cause of absence was lack of clothing; immediately they formed a society to supply that want. For the same reason there were absences at St. John's Sunday School, Ogdensburg, New York, where, in addition, "inclement weather" had kept some away. At one school in Philadelphia, sickness had been a reason for

absence.[208] One school lamented the fact that some of the children had left because their studies for the week-days were so difficult that they had no further time for preparing Sunday lessons.[209] In connection with the problem of absence arose the custom of visiting the children in their homes, a practice which always produced good results.

In the early days, the question of discipline was quite urgent, but in a few years that problem had diminished considerably. Not only was the mere teaching of the Sunday Schools being rewarded by milder deportment but the teaching conditions themselves were being improved. In the erection of stages on each side of the organ loft at St. John's Chapel, New York City, during the year 1817, so that all the Sunday School children could be under the eyes of their respective teachers during the church services,[210] we see an early attempt to employ the aid of proper physical arrangement. In this same year, St. George's Sunday School building, in New York City, was put into use; that, with the other Sunday School buildings which were erected in different parts of the country, made a large contribution, in a physical way, to the efficiency and orderliness of the work. St. James's Church, Philadelphia, took further steps by equipping the new Sunday School building there with circular benches for the classes.[211] In St. James's Sunday School building, in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, the children sat on benches "in the form of three sides of a square and the teacher sitting in front on a chair," an arrangement which improved the deportment as well as the recitations.[212] All this was great progress, but separate buildings for Sunday Schools were not numerous, and skilfully arranged benches were probably still more rare.

[208] *Fifth An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.*, pp. 36, 46, 60, 78.
[209] *Ibid.*, p. 91, referring to St. Paul's Sunday School, Charleston, S. C.
[210] First An. Rep., Bd. Mgrs., N. Y. P. E. S. S. Soc., appended to Hobart's *Address on Beneficial Effects of S. S.*, p. 35.
[211] *Fourth An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.*, p. 60.
[212] *Fifth An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E S S. U.*, p. 83.

Even if every school had had suitable benches, vacancies would have appeared from time to time on those reserved for the older boys and girls, as they dropped out one after another,—for the "leakage at the top" seems to have been about the same as it is now. In the labored words that came from Derby, Connecticut, in 1831,—"as soon as children, (boys in particular) attain such an age as fits them for deriving most advantage from Sunday School they are apt to leave it."[213]

If many of the problems of those days sound familiar to the modern ear, so do some of the constructive attempts to improve Sunday School work. Teachers' meetings were held, Bible classes formed and societies organized for increasing Sunday School libraries and furnishing clothing to needy children. One school rejoiced in its labors of distributing Prayer Books and tracts; it sold at cost price, or gave when required, books of Sunday School instruction.[214]

While there was danger of the Sunday School machinery operating without sufficient connection with the Church, on the whole the desire to keep the children under the spiritual care of the Church was growing stronger. We have seen how some schools, that of Christ Church, Hartford, for instance, used the Prayer Book in order to familiarize the children with the Liturgy, so that they could become active worshippers at church services. We have noted also that at Christ Church Sunday School, in Boston, attendance at church services was a requirement of the school. During a time when the church was being repaired, the superintendent had to conduct services for the children in their Sunday School quarters, and discovered the value of a service and address adapted to young people. This experience, combined with his visit to the Episcopal Charity School, in New York City, where he heard the Rev. William

[213] *Ibid.*, p. 44.

[214] *Fifth An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.*, p. 86. The school was at St. James's, near Staunton, Delaware.

R. Whittingham talk to the children at their service, convinced him that a *children's church* was a "desideratum" in every city. But, he observed, "the faculty of talking to children, so as to interest and profit them, is one which few possess."[215] He was telling to his age what every generation learns; probably the dearth of ministers, and laymen too, able to talk successfully to children accounts, in a large measure, for the scarcity of children's churches in the past and in the present.

There were various time arrangements in the different Sunday Schools, but naturally all of them avoided conflict with the church services. The majority of the schools, the larger ones especially, held two sessions each Sunday, one in the morning and one in the afternoon. Some began at eight o'clock in the morning, some half an hour later, and some at nine o'clock; similarly, the time for beginning in the afternoon varied from noon to three o'clock. One school held sessions from half-past eight until ten o'clock in the morning and from one to three o'clock in the afternoon;[216] another met at nine o'clock in the morning and continued until quarter-past ten, and in the afternoon gathered together again "immediately after Church," continuing for an hour or more.[217] On the other hand, a considerable minority of the schools met only once each Sunday;[218] as, for example, those at Christ Church, Meadville, Pennsylvania, at two o'clock in the afternoon; St. John's Church, Waterbury, Connecticut, between morning and evening service; Trinity Church, Plattsburg, New York, from nine to half-past ten in the morning, and St. Paul's Church, Franklin, Tennessee, from eight o'clock in the morning until church time.[219] St. John's

[215] *Fourth An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.*, pp. 22, 23.

[216] St. Peter's, Perth Amboy, N. J., which met in the Academy building (*Fifth An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.*, p. 76).

[217] St. Anne's, Lowell, Mass. (*Fifth An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.*, p. 35).

[218] *Cf.* Report of Committee to Board of Managers, G. P. E. S. S. U., in *Third Trien. Rep.*, 1835, pp. 15, 16.

[219] *Fifth An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.*, pp. 82, 45, 61, 95.

Sunday School, Ogdensburg, New York, met in the church *after* the evening service; the school at St. Michael's Church, Charleston, South Carolina, met after evening service on Communion Sundays, and after morning service on the other Sundays.[220]

In all that has been said about Sunday Schools, there has not been enough distinction made between city and country, between large churches and small ones, between rich and poor congregations. These differences affected Sunday Schools much as they do today. In this age of congested urban life, we sometimes forget that the very large majority of the people at the time we are considering lived in the country.[221] It was quite natural that schools in the few large cities should be better organized than those in small towns, and that schools where the Rector took active interest should advance more rapidly than those where the minister's visit was recorded and long remembered as a special event in the school's history. An obvious contrast was that between the frontier mission stations and the staid old parishes along the Atlantic seaboard. Those were the days when the Church was trying to hold up her standard among the rugged people who ventured to seek homes and worldly fortune in the growing West. The Episcopal Sunday School at Green Bay, Michigan, founded on October 14, 1829, soon had sixty pupils in it, few of whom could speak English. They used several Indian languages, beside English and French. Not dismayed by this diversity of tongues, the Sunday School Society was starting an Oneida translation of parts of the New Testament; a French translation of certain Bible passages; and

[220] *Fourth An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.*, pp. 53, 71.

[221] The Rev. Benjamin O. Peers, whose Sunday School theories came to be much regarded, said in 1838 that nine-tenths of the children of the United States lived in rural sections where it was often impossible to have any Sunday Schools at all (*cf.* Peers, *American Education*, pp. 281, 282).

was preparing selections from the Epistles and Gospels to use in the Menominee and Chippewa languages.[222]

Winter made quite a difference in some places. St. John's Church, Waterbury, Connecticut, closed its Sunday School during the winter of 1830-1831;[223] the winter before, the Sunday School of Trinity Church, Chatham, in the same state, had been closed on account of the rough weather.[224] At St. Luke's Church, Rochester, New York, the school met between the morning and the afternoon service in winter, but from Easter until October it met at half-past eight in the morning. In the summer time St. John's Sunday School, Bridgeport, Connecticut, met from eight to ten o'clock in the morning, but in winter the session was from twelve to half-past one o'clock.[225] At Norwich, Connecticut, Christ Church Sunday School met twice on Sunday in the summer, and only once during the winter.[224] St. James's Sunday School, Philadelphia, opened at eight A.M. and two P.M. in the summer, and at half-past eight and half-past one in winter.[226]

5. EXAMINATIONS AND PUBLIC GATHERINGS

Although visitors were always welcome at the Sunday School sessions, there were times of special display before the people; such occasions were public examinations and commemorations. The following account came from Sharpsburg, Maryland, in the year 1819:

> Monday the 31st. May was a proud day for Sharpsburg. At an early hour in the day the town was crowded with persons who assembled to witness the examination of the children attached to the Sunday School, and also the laying of the corner-stone of a Protestant Episcopal Church about to be erected in that place. The school con-

[222] *Fifth An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.*, p. 96.
[223] *Fifth An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.*, 1831, p. 45.
[224] *Fourth An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.*, pp. 34, 36.
[225] *Third An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.*, pp. 28, 29.
[226] *Fifth An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.*, p. 78.

sists of 198 children, of whom about 150 were present. It was truly gratifying to see so large an assemblage of children, some of whom were not above six or eight years of age, tuning their infantile voices to the praises of God, and repeating from memory considerable portions of the Holy Scriptures.

After the examination, premiums of Bibles, Prayer Books, &c. were conferred upon the children, according to their improvement and attention to studies. An affectionate and impressive address to the children, teachers, and parents was then delivered by the Rev. B. Allen; and the exercises closed by singing, and a prayer from the Rev. J. C. Clay.

From the place of examination the Sunday School children, with their teachers, and others, marched in procession to the ground where the corner-stone of the church was to be laid, singing, as they went, the 42d. hymn—"Life is the Time," &c. When arrived upon the spot, and while the corner-stone was laying, the same children struck up the 67th. Psalm.[227]

A public examination in St. Peter's Church, Cheshire, Connecticut, some years later, was conducted as follows:

At the door of the church the school was formed into order by its Superintendent, and the classes, headed by their respective teachers, entered the vestibule of the church two by two, and thence divided on either aisle; the male department moving on the left and the female on the right, preceded by the clergyman. In the course of the procession the 8th. Psalm was read, as usual in divine service, by alternate responses. On approaching the chancel, the pupils were seated by classes, and the congregation were then invited to examine them separately on the subjects which had constituted their previous course of study. After an orderly and familiar examination, in which several of the congregation, by entering the pews of the different classes, bore a part, the pupils were collected round the altar. They were here questioned by the clergyman himself, in a more audible manner, on the Catechism of the Church, the Fasts and Festivals, the order of daily morning and evening prayer, and such other subjects as their

[227] The *Christian Journal,* July, 1819, pp. 215, 216.

examiner thought proper . . . at the close of this catechetical examination, certain premiums were distributed according to the regulations established in the by-laws of the School. The friends of the institution, and of Sunday Schools in general, were then invited to express their sentiments on the occasion, and the exercises were closed with the concluding prayers of the evening service.[228]

In the larger cities, examinations seem to have been more formal. One held at Christ Church, Boston, on April 3, 1828, was reported in considerable detail. We shall want to follow this event because it was this school that the *General Protestant Episcopal Sunday School Union* had taken as its model. Just on the stroke of three o'clock the superintendent rang his bell for attention. Holding a Bible up in full view, he repeated:

> Let little children come to me;
> This is what the Saviour said;
> Little children! come and see!
> *Here* is where the words are read.
> Often on *these* pages look;
> Of the love of Christ they tell.
> Oh! is not *this* a holy book!
> Learn to read and love it well.

Then he read St. Mark's account of bringing young children to Christ. After some responses, some prayers and a gloria, he read the hymn,

> Great God! and wilt Thou condescend
> To be my Father and my friend!

which the school then sang. Following this were four examination periods, each of which ended at the sound of a bell, with five-minute exercises in between.

[228] *Episc. Watchman,* Sept. 20, 1828, pp. 214, 215; article signed, "A Spectator."

The first examination was on a small book entitled, *Little Susan and her Lamb,* which had been given out the previous Sunday to the youngest children, some of whom were not more than three years old. During the first intermediate period of five minutes, the teacher of the monitorial class[229] asked of the whole school some Bible questions, after which he held before them a Bible and they all recited together the hymn,

> This is a precious book, indeed!
> Happy the child that loves to read, etc.

For the second examination some of the children answered questions about the hymn, "Great God! and wilt Thou condescend." In the five-minute period which followed, the school sang the hymn, "This is a precious book, indeed!" The third examination embraced such questions as, "What do you mean by the passion of Christ?" "For what did Christ die?" "On what day of the week was he crucified?" "Of what was the passover kept by the Jews in commemoration?" These were asked of the three classes next above those who had been tested on the hymn, "Great God," etc. The short intermediate period following was occupied with the Catechism. In the fourth examination period, which lasted twenty-five minutes, the monitorial class answered questions from a map of Palestine, which hung on the wall before them.[230]

Some references to New York City will give further suggestions about the development of examinations and public gatherings. We have already noted the impressive exercises which

[229] Monitorial classes were for the training of prospective monitors. The monitorial system has been explained before as a scheme of teaching large numbers of children by dividing them up into groups of about ten, and putting each group in charge of a more advanced boy, who was called a monitor. The system came from England, where it had been used by Andrew Bell and by James Lancaster.

[230] *Zion's Herald,* article signed "Clericus," reprinted in *Church Register,* June 14, 1828, pp. 191, 192.

marked the opening of the new Sunday School building of St. George's Church in 1817. On the first Sunday afternoon of each month the Rector of St. Stephen's Church, New York, in the presence of a committee of the managers of the school and those of the congregation who cared to come, examined the children on the work of the previous month; and on the first Sunday of each December he examined the school in the church before the whole congregation.[231] On such an occasion in 1829, he tested several classes on Mrs. Sherwood's *Easy Scripture Catechism, Catechisms* 1, 2 and 3, and Book Number 4 of the Protestant Episcopal Union. A colored man repeated from memory the third chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel. A Bible Class of boys had an examination in Old Testament history.[232] In a city like New York, the great numbers of children available made possible some very large gatherings. On Wednesday, the sixth day of April, 1831, the fourteenth anniversary of the institution of the New York Protestant Episcopal Sunday School Society occurred in St. John's Chapel. The Bishop was there, and many of the New York clergy; four hundred teachers came, and more than 2500 children.[233]

These public gatherings, large and small, demonstrated the extraordinary success of the Sunday School movement and the deep interest back of it; but the tendency to display increased until it threatened to pass the bounds of legitimate Sunday School work. It seems proper enough to have had that colored man recite publicly the third chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel, and there is nothing to criticise about the marching of the Sharpsburg children to the corner stone of the new church. Nor should we blame the Rector of St. Peter's Church, in Auburn, New York, for gathering his children together in the church

[231] *Fourth An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.*, p. 42.
[232] *Gospel Messenger*, Jan. 9, 1830, p. 190.
[233] *Fourteenth An. Rep., Bd. Mgrs., N. Y. P. E. S. S. Soc.*, 1831, p. 24.

after morning service on New Year's Day, 1829, and giving to each one a cake and a little book.[234] What seems to have been reprehensible was the parading of Sunday School children in showy procession, several occurrences of which brought the matter before the public. An editor expressed his condemnation of the proposal to have such a celebration on the Fourth of July, 1831, in honor of the fiftieth anniversary of the beginning of Sunday Schools in America. This "display," he wrote, and this "noise and confusion" under the hot sun, would bring no moral improvement; he argued, furthermore, that it would be hard to get teachers "from the more enlightened and respectable part of the community" to coöperate in such affairs.[235] Both of his arguments are still sound. Such appeals as his must have helped to check this tendency to public display. At any rate, the custom did not fix itself on the Church at large.

6. SOME FRUITS OF SUNDAY SCHOOL EFFORTS

One of the famous schools of the time, to which many visitors went, was that at Christ Church, Boston, already referred to several times. On April 1, 1831, the school had three hundred and five pupils and twenty-seven teachers. In connection with it was a sewing school, which met every Wednesday and Saturday afternoon. Each child paid one cent an afternoon, making a fund which was turned over to the "Fragment Society" to use in supplying clothes for needy children of the Sunday School.[236] Another leading Sunday School of the time was that at St. Andrew's Church, Philadelphia, of which the Rev. Gregory T. Bedell was the Rector. In 1823 the vestry-room of the church was quite large enough to hold the entire school; ten

[234] *Cf. Gospel Messenger,* Jan. 3, 1829, p. 203.
[235] *Episc. Watchman,* Apr. 2, 1831, p. 375.
[236] *Fifth An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.,* pp. 27-30.

years later there were seventy-five teachers and about eleven hundred pupils.[237]

From such schools we should expect good results. In 1831 seven men who had been teachers in the former school were active ministers, and two more were preparing for ordination. Through the teachers, a great many of the Sunday School members and their brothers and sisters had been baptized, and some confirmed.[238] At St. Andrew's Sunday School, in Philadelphia, results had been equally good. For instance, two sisters were so impressed by their Sunday instructions that their mother could no longer get them to buy milk for her on the Lord's Day![239] In Bedell's own words, the Sunday School had been the "cause of more conversions than could be here enumerated; it has changed the face of society among those poor who have been willing to come under its influence; it has introduced cleanliness and neatness, where before there was nothing but dirt and rags and the most squalid wretchedness; it has carried the saving influence of the gospel where there was nothing but ignorance and spiritual death; it has carried the consolations of the gospel where there was almost hitherto unpitied wretched-

[237] Tyng, *Memoir of Bedell,* p. 238. The whole school was composed of

	Teachers	*Pupils*
Male Sunday School	6	62
Female Sunday School	21	210
Male Bible Classes (2)	2	50
Female Bible Class No. 1	1	25
Female Bible Class No. 2	1	12
Male Infant School	1	84
Female Infant School	1	100
Colored School, Male and Female	23	300
Female Colored School	18	170
Female Colored Infant School	1	81
Totals	75	1094

(*Jour., Pa.,* 1832, p. 19.)

[238] *Fifth An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.,* pp. 28, 29. In the year just past, one teacher and thirty-four scholars had been baptized, and eight present and former teachers and two scholars confirmed.

[239] Tyng, *Memoir of Bedell,* p. 249.

ness; and it has transformed the rising generation of our streets and alleys, nearly ready to become a blight and a curse, into a healthy population and a blessing."[240]

Similar fruits were in evidence all over the country. Through the children at James's Sunday School, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, some of the parents had been brought to church, and some had started to read the Bible; some fathers had begun to stay home nights, and some had become temperate. In Charleston, South Carolina, Sunday Schools had proved to be "a strong moral and religious influence over the rising generation." The Sunday School at Newtown, Long Island, had increased the religious sensibilities of the members, bringing forth fruit in the lives of the children, both white and colored.[241] At one church in Connecticut, in one year, eighteen from the Sunday School of one hundred and twenty enrolled members had been baptized, and six confirmed.[242]

The editor of one of the church papers of the time wrote that Sunday Schools had proved to be "valuable means of training up the young in the way they should go. These institutions have become common in every part of the country, and the inestimable blessings which result from them are apparent to all. . . . They are powerful, and should henceforth be considered indispensable auxiliaries to ministerial labors in every parish. A well conducted Sunday School . . . affords one of the very best evidences that can be had of the spiritual prosperity of a church; and at the same time gives us an assurance and pledge, of the most satisfactory and encouraging nature, that its prosperity will be permanent."[243] The General Protestant Episcopal Sunday School Union had found that through Sunday Schools the moral aspects of neighborhoods had been changed,

[240] Bedell, Sermon, quoted in Tyng, *op. cit.*, pp. 238, 239.

[241] *Fifth An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.*, pp. 83, 88, 73.

[242] *Fourth An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.*, p. 36, referring to Christ Church, Norwich.

[243] *Episc. Watchman,* Aug. 1, 1829, pp. 158, 159.

intemperance checked, Sunday observance increased, the way for the gospel prepared, churches established, the number of communicants increased, the ministry enlarged and many souls saved.[244]

[244] *Ninth An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.*, 1835, p. 15.

XIV.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THEOLOGICAL SEMINARIES, 1815-1835

A. *PRIVATE MINISTERIAL TRAINING IN THE EARLY DAYS*

WE have already observed the informal and private nature of the education of prospective ministers before theological seminaries were opened. We saw the future Bishop Claggett, for instance, resorting to his uncle to prepare for ordination. We followed the steps of Philander Chase to the door of the Rev. Mr. Ellison, Rector at Albany, New York, who directed Chase's theological education. We noted, too, that Samuel H. Turner, who is yet to be mentioned several times in connection with his long service as professor at the General Theological Seminary, received his instructions in divinity under Bishop White's guidance. It was natural that young men should turn to that venerable Bishop for their instruction. As one writer tersely says: "Bishop White gathered round him, either as assistant ministers or for the purposes of instruction, the men who were in their generation largely to influence and guide the awakening life of the Church."[1]

Two other educational leaders who read theology under the direction of Bishop White were John Henry Hobart and Alonzo Potter.[2] Another was William Augustus Muhlenberg, who was graduated from the University of Pennsylvania on January 10, 1815. Almost at once he went to Bishop White to prepare for the ministry. The Bishop told him to begin with Paley's *Evidences of Christianity,* then to go on with Butler's *Analogy,*

[1] Ward, *Life and Times of Bishop White,* p. 101.
[2] *Ibid.,* pp. 107, 138, 139.

Stackhouse's *History of the Bible,* and Adam Clarke's *Commentary,* which was new at the time. Muhlenberg recited regularly to the Rev. Jackson Kemper, who was then assistant to Bishop White and who in 1835 became Bishop of the rapidly growing western region. As further preparation, Muhlenberg accompanied Kemper on his visits to the sick and the poor. Once a fortnight he went to the Bishop's study to read essays on subjects chosen by the Bishop. In the second year of his training Bishop White licensed him as a lay reader.[3] Early in his ministry he turned his thoughts and his energies toward Christian education. Later on, we shall hear more about his memorable educational opinions and ventures.

Others to whom Bishop White was not available turned where they could. Stephen H. Tyng, for instance, went to Bristol, Rhode Island, in 1819, to study under Bishop Griswold. There he got a great deal of practical experience, making calls with the Bishop, conducting services and even doing some preaching. He advanced more rapidly, he believed, than would have been possible "under any system of private intellectual study." The Bishop's "simple" and "truly Christian" manners with the humble poor made a lasting impression. An evening meeting at a farmhouse, conducted by the Bishop, became a "perfect pattern for my life." In the midst of these activities, Tyng went to Boston to study for a while under the Rev. Samuel F. Jarvis. Taking charge of the services at the little church in Quincy, Massachusetts, he started there the first Sunday School in the town. In a few months he returned to Bristol, where he taught in the academy while he completed his canonical course.[4]

Meanwhile the Church was feeling the need of a more formal training of its clergy. In the latter part of 1818 the *Society for the Advancement of Christianity in Pennsylvania* put the Rev. Samuel H. Turner in charge of two theological students, "to

[3] Ayres, *Life of Muhlenberg,* pp. 36 ff., 48.
[4] Tyng, *Life of S. H. Tyng,* pp. 43-49.

direct their studies, and hear them recite." This arrangement lasted only a short time; it was "superseded by another of a more definite and permanent character." On October 8, 1818, Turner became Professor of Historic Theology in the General Theological Seminary which was then being organized; he began teaching in the following spring.[5]

B. *THE GENERAL THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY*

The General Convention of 1814, as we have seen, vaguely approved of some kind of a general institution for the training of ministers; the next Convention, in 1817, took definite action in the matter of a General Theological Seminary. They voted to start one in New York City, and appointed a committee to put the decision into effect. After the necessary preliminaries, the seminary opened for instruction in the spring of 1819, without advertisement or ceremony. There were six students and two professors, Samuel H. Turner and Samuel F. Jarvis. They met in a little room near the corner of the north gallery of St. Paul's Church. In the autumn, lack of heating facilities compelled them to seek warmer quarters, which they found at St. John's Chapel; there they met, sometimes in the vestry room at the northeast corner, and sometimes near one of the stoves in the church. One day, however, they found the doors locked against them; the sexton, a man named Wunenberg, denied them admission unless they would supply their own fuel. At this juncture, Mr. Lawson Carter, one of the students, offered the use of the room at the corner of Broadway and Cedar Street, up one flight, where he conducted a school for young ladies; it could be used by the men only in the afternoons, but they gladly accepted the offer. The place continued to be the headquarters of the General Seminary until its removal to New Haven in the summer of 1820.[6]

[5] Turner, *Autobiography*, pp. 70, 71, 80, 83, 84.

[6] Turner, *Autobiography*, pp. 83 ff. The original six students were: Lawson

This change of location was ordered by the General Convention of 1820, which also established a Board of Trustees consisting of all the Bishops, *ex officio,* and twelve clergymen and twelve laymen, to be elected by the House of Deputies at each triennial meeting of the General Convention.[7] On September 13, 1820, the Seminary opened its New Haven session with a meeting and inaugural address by Professor Turner in Trinity Church.[8] Bishop Brownell, of Connecticut, was president *pro tem.* of the Board of Trustees, who planned the course of instruction under five heads,—Biblical Literature; Systematic Theology; Ecclesiastical History; Ministry, Polity and Ritual of the Church; and Composition and Delivery of Sermons, and Pastoral Duties. The full course was to be three years, each year consisting of two terms,—from the first Thursday in September to the second Thursday in December, and from the second Thursday of March to the last Thursday in July.[9] During the first term, fourteen students entered; seven more came in before the close of the second term.[8]

It is necessary to turn our attention to the events which were now transpiring in New York; they have an important bearing on the immediate future of the General Theological Seminary. Bishop Hobart insisted on having a seminary in or near New York City; at his instigation, the *Protestant Episcopal Education Society of the State of New York,* formed by the New York Convention in 1820 to establish professorships and to help

Carter, James P. F. Clarke, George Washington Doane, Benjamin Dorr, Manton Eastburn, William H. Mitchell. Of these, Doane, later Bishop of New Jersey, played by far the greatest rôle in education. Eastburn became Bishop of Massachusetts, and Dorr succeeded Bishop White as Rector of Christ Church, Philadelphia (White's immediate successor lived only a month or so; Dorr succeeded him).

[7] *Jour., Gen. Conv.,* 1820, pp. 41-43, 57. This plan was changed in 1821, when the Seminary returned to New York, to a system of proportionate representation from each Diocese (Art. III, Constitution, G. T. S., *Jour., Gen. Conv.,* 1821, reprinted in Perry, *Half-Century of Leg.,* I, p. 614).

[8] Hoffman, in Perry's *Hist. of the P. E. Ch.,* II, p. 514.

[9] *Plan of the Theol. Sem.,* etc., pp. 10, 12.

theological students, undertook the founding of two theological schools, one in New York City and an "Interior" or "Branch" School at Geneva, New York.[10] In February, 1821, the Vestry of Trinity Church, New York, transferred the annual allowance of $750, granted for theological education, from Fairfield Academy to Geneva, "on condition that the inhabitants would erect a suitable building for the accommodation of the Theological Students." This was agreed to; the result was *Geneva Hall,* completed in 1822. Dr. Daniel McDonald, the principal and theological professor in Fairfield Academy, became principal of the academy at Geneva, and professor in the Interior Theological School, where the training of ministers began in June, 1821.[11] A month earlier, the theological school in New York City had opened, under the instruction of Bishop Hobart, the Rev. Benjamin T. Onderdonk and Messrs. Clement C. Moore and Gulian C. Verplanck.[12]

Meanwhile—in March, 1821—Mr. Jacob Sherred, a vestryman of Trinity Church, New York, had died; in his will, dated January 28, 1820, he left about sixty thousand dollars to a Theological Seminary "within the State of New York."[13] Now the question arose as to which seminary should have the money. The General Seminary had been officially established in New York and was still there on the date written in the will. On the other hand, by the time the will was read, this institution had been officially transferred to New Haven and had been in operation there for some months; while Bishop Hobart had two seminaries well under way in the Diocese of New York. It took a special Convention to decide the matter. The result was a fair compromise; the General Seminary at New Haven came back to New York and united with the new Diocesan School there.

[10] *Jours., N. Y.,* 1820, pp. 16 ff., 24-26; 1821, pp. 29 ff.

[11] *Catalogue, Hobart Free Coll.,* 1856, p. 3.

[12] *Jour., N. Y.,* 1821, pp. 32, 33. They taught, respectively, Theology; Church History and Polity; Bible; and Evidences.

[13] Circular of May 25, 1821, in Perry's *Half-Century,* I, p. 634.

This combination received the legacy and continued on as the "General Theological Seminary."[14]

On this new basis the institution opened on February 13, 1822, meeting in the schoolrooms of Trinity Church, where the classes continued to gather until the spring of 1827, when the first building was completed on the present site of the institution.[15] This land, sixty lots, had been given in February, 1819, by Mr. Clement C. Moore, of New York. The building was a large Gothic stone structure, with accommodations for two professors and for boarding and lodging forty students, and with two lecture-rooms, a library and a temporary chapel.[16] At the time, the location was a "quiet, rural retreat on the picturesque banks of the Hudson." Up to 1832, the expenses of a student for a seminary year, for board, washing, fuel and lights, were $70.95. In 1834 there were sixty-four students, too great a number to be accommodated in the one building; accordingly, the seminary put up another structure, which was completed and occupied in 1836 and called the "West" building, to distinguish it from the other, the "East" building.[17]

Bishop Hobart taught at the seminary one day a week. He had the men study Burnet on *Pastoral Care,* the Appendix to the *Clergyman's Companion* and Claude's *Essay on the Composition of a Sermon.* With Professor Turner the students read the Epistles and Gospels, using Archbishop Newcome's Greek text of the evangelists and discussing the important questions that arose. Other books used were Ernesti on *Interpretation* and Horne on the *Critical Study of the Bible.* For teaching systematic theology, Professor Wilson used Pearson's *Exposition of the Creed,* Jones's *Catholic Doctrine of the Trinity,* Bishop Horsley's *Tracts on Unitarianism,* Dr. Magee on the *Atonement,* Bishops Hobart and Horsley on *The Descent into Hell,* West on

[14] *Jour. of Special Convention,* 1821, in Perry, *op. cit.,* pp. 613-616.
[15] Hoffman, in Perry's *Hist. of the P. E. Ch.,* II, p. 516.
[16] *Jours., Gen. Conv.,* 1820, p. 68; 1826, pp. 89, 90.
[17] Hoffman, in Perry's *Hist. of P. E. Ch.,* II, pp. 517-520.

The Resurrection, Collier's *History of the Reign of Elizabeth,* and Bishop Burnet and Bishop Tomline on the *Thirty-nine Articles.* Professor Onderdonk used Mosheim for the history of the fourth century; other text-books in his department were the translations of Archbishop Wake and of the Rev. William Reeves, Stackhouse's *Body of Divinity,* Prideaux's *Connexions,* Potter on *Church Government,* and Barrow on the *Pope's Supremacy.* Professor Verplanck used Paley's *Evidences* as the basis of his class work.[18]

Instructions continued on this general plan.[19] In 1826 Professor Verplanck resigned,[20] and in 1830 Bishop Hobart died. In 1835 the Rev. William R. Whittingham became Professor of Ecclesiastical History on the fund just given by Mr. Peter G. Stuyvesant.[21] Up to 1828 the grouping of the men must have been rather informal, for in that year the trustees resolved that students must secure their academic training before arriving at the seminary and come prepared to do full work in one of the regular classes. They even hoped that young men might acquire beforehand a working knowledge of Latin, Greek and Hebrew.[22]

The Interior, or Branch, Theological School, which we left in operation at Geneva, New York, was given up in 1824, after the General Seminary was well settled again in New York City. However, this bare statement is too short to cover the whole case. This "Branch" School was now a part of Geneva College, which had already, in 1822, obtained a provisional charter. To the college the trustees of the General Theological Seminary paid eight thousand dollars for the release of the Branch Theological School and the relinquishing of all claims for money in support of that institution.[23]

[18] *Jour., Gen. Conv.,* 1823, in Perry, *Half-Century,* II, pp. 84 ff.
[19] *Jour., Gen. Conv.,* 1826, p. 86.
[20] *Ibid.,* p. 87.
[21] Turner, *Autobiography,* pp. 173, 174.
[22] *Jours., Gen. Conv.,* 1829, p. 94; 1832, p. 125.
[23] *Catalogue, Hobart Free Coll.,* 1856, pp. 3, 4.

General Episcopal Theological Seminary at New York.

Reproduced from the title-page of the bound Volume I of *The Church Register*, Philadelphia, 1826.

C. *THE SEMINARY IN VIRGINIA*

The Protestant Episcopal Seminary in Virginia was largely the outgrowth of the *Education Society* formed in 1818 to help young men in their preparation for the ministry. Of the many applicants for the society's bounty, those chosen were either sent away to college or put in charge of the clergymen of their respective parishes. This method was expensive, and it prevented efficient oversight of the scattered candidates. In 1820 the College of William and Mary offered the Church the advantage of a newly established chair of theology.[24] This the Virginia Churchmen lost no time in accepting. "Peculiar circumstances," not opposition to the General Seminary,[25] made a theological school necessary in the "Southern District," so the Diocesan Convention of 1821 formally organized one in connection with the college, and appointed trustees and a man to solicit funds for the enterprise.[26] In the first year he collected more than ten thousand dollars.[27]

Meanwhile Virginia had invited both Maryland and North Carolina to share in the project; Maryland did not approve of the location, and North Carolina made no reply at all.[28] This left Virginia free to take any action that seemed wise. The Rev. Reuel Keith started as the Professor of Divinity. During his first year of teaching, the funds of the institution increased, and two donations of theological books came in.[29] But only one student appeared.[30] The place, as Maryland had claimed, was

[24] Hawks, *Va.*, pp. 260-262.

[25] After the General Seminary was started, many people throughout the country believed that it should be the only theological school of the entire Episcopal Church. While the Virginia Seminary project was under way one of the Bishops wrote to Bishop Moore protesting against the plan because it would "mar the unity and peace of our Church," and urging patronage of the General Seminary (*cf.* Packard, *Recollections*, p. 77).

[26] *Jour., Va.*, 1821, p. 20.

[27] *Jour., Va.*, 1822, Hawks reprint, p. 153.

[28] *Ibid.*, pp. 154, 156.

[29] *Jour., Va.*, 1823, Hawks reprint, p. 164.

[30] Packard, *Recollections*, p. 78.

not suitably located for a theological seminary; it was "too remote and inaccessible." Consequently, in October, 1823, Mr. Keith removed to Alexandria and began teaching there.[31] The first home of the institution in Alexandria was a little schoolhouse in St. Paul's churchyard.[32] Success in increasing the number of students, and in discovering ways to support "the indigent among them," led the Virginia Convention, on Saturday, May 22, 1824, to make Alexandria the official location of the school. This change of place from Williamsburg to Alexandria retarded, temporarily, the influx of money, because a number of the subscribers felt that the removal was a violation of the conditions of locality under which they had agreed to give.[31]

The course of study was that prescribed by the House of Bishops in 1804. From the start at Alexandria, the Rev. William H. Wilmer also had taught in the seminary, but in 1826 he left to accept the presidency of the College of William and Mary.[33] Other teachers of the time were the Rev. Messrs. Norris, William Jackson and E. R. Lippitt.[34]

The growth of the school was encouraging. It had seventeen students in 1827, when it bought a tract of sixty-two acres of land near Alexandria, on which were a brick house and some outbuildings; to this property it added another brick structure three stories high.[35] A few years later was erected a main building, to which this house served as a wing.

Virginia did not have to wait long for appreciable good results from her seminary. In 1832 the report from that Diocese to the General Convention included the sanguine remark: "Our

[31] *Jour., Va.,* 1824, Hawks reprint, pp. 173, 174. There were never less than eleven students at Alexandria; at the time of the Convention in May, 1824, the trustees expected twenty young men to enter the institution.

[32] Packard, *Recollections,* p. 78.

[33] Whitaker, *Life of R. H. Wilmer,* p. 11. Wilmer taught Systematic Theology, and Keith taught Biblical Literature and Criticism. (*Cf. Jour., Va.,* 1824, Hawks reprint, p. 173.)

[34] *Cf. Seminary Reports in Va. Jours.* of 1825, 1826, 1827 and 1828.

[35] *Jour., Va.,* 1828, Hawks reprint, pp. 221, 222.

Diocesan Theological Seminary has been a very prominent instrument in the production of the present encouraging state of our Church." At the next General Convention, in 1835, the report was: "The Theological Seminary of Virginia . . . has not disappointed . . . continues to dispense its benefits." Since May, 1832, about $30,000 had been added to the funds of the institution; of the sixty candidates for the ministry connected with the institution during the three years just ended, thirty-six had been ordained.[36]

D. *SUSPENDED EFFORTS IN MARYLAND*

Maryland, as has been noted, was invited to work with Virginia in operating a joint theological seminary, but did not want the institution to be located at Williamsburg.[37] The same year that Virginia launched out on her independent course, in 1822, Maryland voted to have a theological school of her own, choosing the city of Washington as the site.[38] Although to some the movement savored of conflict with the General Seminary, matters progressed until they came before the Bishop. He stoutly opposed the plan, claiming that such an institution would cause friction in the Church and prove to be an entering wedge of division.[39] The Diocesan Convention of 1823 compliantly voted to suspend the establishment of the proposed seminary; to be doubly sure, they passed a resolution that any further consideration of the subject must wait for action until the next Convention after the one in which it should be introduced.[40] From this condition of prostration, the incipient Maryland Seminary never rose again.

[36] *Jours., Gen. Conv.*, 1832, p. 47; 1835, p. 38.
[37] *Cf.* Hawks, *Md.*, pp. 437 ff., for a discussion of possible "party" elements in Maryland's nonacceptance.
[38] *Jour., Md.*, 1822, pp. 19, 20, 23 ff.
[39] Hawks, *Md.*, pp. 439-443.
[40] *Jour., Md.*, 1823, p. 18.

E. *THE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY OF THE DIOCESE OF OHIO*

An account of the Theological Seminary and Kenyon College in what was then the wilderness of Ohio will make us better acquainted with that sturdy pioneer Bishop, Philander Chase. In the same year that the General Theological Seminary was ordered to be established in New York City (1817), Chase began his labors in Ohio, and in June of the following year he was elected Bishop.[41] It did not take him long to come to the conclusion that he must train his own ministers in an institution where "the *sons of the soil* could be educated at an expense within their reach, and in habits suited to their sphere of life."[42] In 1823 he went to England and raised about twenty thousand dollars for his project, a sum to which constant accessions from England were made for some time afterward.[43]

During the winter of 1824-1825 Chase gathered together a few promising students and taught them in his own house in Worthington. When warm weather came he put up two small cabins. Young men and boys continued to come for instruction; in 1826 there were thirty students. Chase made up a library by adding his own books to some which he had brought from England. Prices were low, as was fitting in such a humble institution. Collegians paid seventy dollars a year for everything except stationery, books and clothing; grammar school pupils paid sixty dollars; Candidates for Holy Orders received instructions free, but paid fifty dollars a year for other expenses.[44]

Worthington was only a temporary location of the new institution. After considering various offers, Bishop Chase finally

[41] Chase, *Rem.*, I, p. 127; *Jour., Ohio,* 1818 (2d Conv., Worthington), p. 8.
[42] Chase, *Rem.*, I, p. 506.
[43] *Jours., Ohio,* 1824, p. 10; 1825, p. 5.
[44] Chase, *Rem.*, I, pp. 439, 452, 467, 468.

decided on a tract of eight thousand acres in Knox County.[45] There the Ohio Convention of 1826 authorized him to establish "The Theological Seminary of the Diocese of Ohio and Kenyon College."[46] The name "Kenyon" was in honor of Lord Kenyon, who had helped Bishop Chase when he was in England; for similar reasons names of other English lords came into use,—"Gambier" for the new settlement and, later on, "Bexley" for the hall for the theological students. The first dormitory was a crude wooden affair put up to accommodate the junior department.[47] The original stone building was started in the spring of 1827. A crude hut near by served as the Bishop's headquarters.[48] All the while the student body was growing larger.

At this time the idea of physical work for students was gaining favor. "For the preservation and promotion of health," manual labor was "very desirable" for every student, and came to be expected of all who were studying theology.[49] Each one received credit for the money value of the work he did on the extensive college lands; three hours' toil each day would pay a man's board.[50]

Although the Milnor Professorship of Systematic Divinity had been established in 1829,[51] no distinct theological school had yet resulted from Bishop Chase's efforts. Before he had had time formally to separate his divinity students from the

[45] *Ibid.*, p. 463.

[46] *Jour., Ohio,* 1826, p. 30.

[47] Dyer, *Records of an Active Life,* p. 68.

[48] Chase, *Rem.*, I, pp. 485, 516, 517.

[49] *Laws of Kenyon College and the Theological Seminary,* p. 7. The idea of physical work as part of the daily life of an educational institution had come to the United States from Europe and was spreading at the time. Influenced by Pestalozzi, Emanuel Fellenberg had opened a manual labor school at Hofwyl, Switzerland, which became somewhat famous. In advocating a manual labor theological seminary, S. H. Tyng referred to the Hofwyl school (*cf.* Tyng, *Life of S. H. Tyng,* pp. 115, 116).

[50] *Catalogue, Theol. Sem. of Ohio, Kenyon Coll.,* etc., 1836, pp. 16, 17.

[51] *Kenyon Book,* p. 58. James Milnor was Rector of St. George's Church, New York City, where most of the fund of ten thousand dollars was raised.

others, two disappointments came to him. One was his failure to induce the authorities at Washington to grant a township of land for the benefit of the institution. The other disappointment was more tragic. Because his enthusiasm combined with the practical necessities of the case to make the establishment rather patriarchal, some of his associates actively resented what they termed his "absolute and unlimited power."[52] The story could be drawn out to a considerable length here, but it is enough to say that rather than stay to bicker over the sharp issue which was now precipitated, Chase resigned, on September 9, 1831,[53] all connection with the Diocese and retired to a farm in Michigan.

During the next few years the seminary began to assume clearer identity. In 1833 the divinity students formed classes of their own, with separate courses of study.[54] Before Bishop Chase's successor, Charles Pettit McIlvaine, arrived in Ohio, he had raised large sums of money for the Diocesan educational institution. Not only this, but in November, 1834, he went to England to solicit funds for a new building for theological students and to encourage young Englishmen to complete their education at Gambier and be ordained for work in the new country. He returned without students, evidently, but with more than twelve thousand dollars, with plans for his new building, which was to be named "Bexley," with nearly two thousand books and with a legacy of two hundred pounds from Hannah More, to be used for a theological scholarship.[55] The year of his return, 1835, the Diocesan Convention wisely separated the office of Bishop from that of president of Kenyon College and the Theological Seminary, agreeing to pay the

[52] Chase, *Rem.*, II, pp. 1 ff., 19, 27, 95.

[53] *Jour., Ohio,* 1831, pp. 28, 29.

[54] *Memento of Donors, Theol. Sem. and Kenyon Coll.*, p. 41.

[55] *Jours., Ohio,* 1833, pp. 9, 10; 1835, pp. 11-14. Bexley Hall was not completed for some years.

Bishop a fixed salary.[56] In 1839 the Legislature of Ohio declared the existence of two distinct faculties at Gambier,—that of Kenyon College and that of the Theological Seminary.[57]

F. *THE LEADERSHIP OF JOHN HENRY HOPKINS IN PITTSBURGH, IN CAMBRIDGE AND IN BURLINGTON, VERMONT*

The Rev. John Henry Hopkins and sixty-eight other residents of Pittsburgh asked the Pennsylvania Convention of 1829 to establish a Diocesan Theological School. Alarmed at the small number of clergymen in the growing West and seeing no hope of an adequate supply from the existing seminaries, they backed their petition with offers of large subscriptions from members of Trinity Church, Pittsburgh, and of a suitable piece of land near that city. A committee to which the Convention referred the matter reported in favor of such an institution. By another year whatever zeal had actuated this report had oozed away, for in 1830 the committee felt that there was no urgent need of a Diocesan Seminary. Then it occurred to the Convention that "a branch or branches" of the General Theological Seminary might be possible, "one of which to be located in Pittsburgh"; but the Diocesan Trustees of that institution believed it would be inexpedient to establish such a branch in any Diocese.[58] Thus doubly checked, the project of a "Western Theological Seminary" at Pittsburgh came to an end.

This was a keen disappointment to Mr. Hopkins. His name stood first on the original petition for a seminary in Pittsburgh, and it was he who had offered the site for the institution. He

[56] *Jour., Ohio,* 1835, pp. 7, 25, 44. Bishop Chase's troubles had occurred largely through blending these offices and through a touch of autocracy which his English benefactors seem to have advised, if not demanded. Chase's English correspondence (*cf.* his *Reminiscences, passim*), shows that his friends across the water expected him to exercise his full authority as Bishop.

[57] *Kenyon Book,* pp. 46-48.

[58] *Jours., Pa.,* 1829, pp. 22, 56, 100-102; 1830, pp. 21, 44-46; 1831, pp. 20, 21.

had been accustomed to teaching divinity students privately. In the seven years of his ministry in Pittsburgh he had trained seven men for ordination, and had started others who finished their training elsewhere. Just as the hopes for a new seminary in Pennsylvania were being frustrated, Hopkins accepted a call to be the assistant minister of Trinity Church, Boston, in connection with which position he was to begin a divinity school.[59] Bishop Griswold had often recommended such an institution, but it was not until 1831 that conditions seemed to be favorable. In June of that year the Massachusetts Convention voted to establish in Cambridge *The Massachusetts Episcopal Theological School.* Although the "necessity and efficiency" of the General Theological Seminary in New York were quite apparent, "the peculiar and pressing wants of the Eastern Diocese" made the new theological school in Massachusetts also necessary.[60]

In September, 1831, Hopkins settled his family in a house which he had bought in Cambridge, "on the high road to Boston," where he began to teach theology to a class of four.[61] The school thus promisingly begun did not last long. The following spring Hopkins became Bishop of Vermont. Then the seminary went to pieces. At what would have been the first annual meeting of the trustees there was not a quorum. A bill of twenty-seven dollars for the original record book and for printing the constitution and by-laws remained unpaid until the Massachusetts Convention of 1834 settled it.[62]

Bishop Hopkins continued his educational work in Vermont. On November 21, 1832, he took up residence in Burlington in a two-story brick house, to which he added wings for the accommodation of twelve boys. By the following summer these quarters were full; two years later he had twenty-six pupils. They

[59] Hopkins, *Life of J. H. Hopkins,* pp. 116, 117, 122, 125-128, 136-138.
[60] *Jour., Mass.,* 1831, pp. 14-19.
[61] Hopkins, *Life of J. H. Hopkins,* pp. 127, 138.
[62] *Jour., Mass.,* 1834, pp. 31, 32.

were taught by two young men who were preparing for Holy Orders.[63] By thus keeping divinity students under his guidance, the Bishop hoped to solve the problem of theological education in the new Diocese.[64] He was partly successful, but his educational projects soon became a little top-heavy. We must not anticipate further than to say that the Bishop's ambitions in this direction forced him into serious financial embarrassments and deep administrative tangles.

G. *THE SEMINARY IN LEXINGTON, KENTUCKY*

Early in 1832, meeting Bishop Smith's ardent desire to have a seminary in Kentucky, a few people hired a room in Lexington and started one. A year later they rented a house for the purpose. In the spring of 1834 the institution bought from the Rev. Benjamin O. Peers the old *Eclectic Institute* property in Lexington, which would accommodate forty students, providing "ample grounds" and satisfactory interior arrangements, including even a chapel.[65] Of this place the seminary took possession on April 20, 1834. On the seventh of the following June the Rev. Henry Caswall began duty as the salaried professor of Sacred Literature.[66] Two others residing in Lexington taught without compensation.[65]

We must not allow the number forty, just mentioned as the capacity of the new quarters, to mislead us. In 1833 there were only three young men in the seminary, two of whom were

[63] Hopkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 161, 162, 174.

[64] To his first Convention, Hopkins said that he would attend to theological education at his own house, especially for students who could not go to the General Theological Seminary in New York (*Jour., Vt.*, 1833, p. 17).

[65] The *Churchman*, Apr. 19, 1834, p. 643.

[66] *Jour., Ky.*, 1834, p. 6. Caswall taught Greek, Latin and Hebrew. He used Stuart's *Hebrew Grammar*, Horne's *Introduction to the Study of the Scriptures* and Ernesti on *Interpretation*. Bishop Smith taught Doctrines of Scripture and Duties of the Clergy, and Dr. J. E. Cooke, of Lexington, taught Church History and Polity (*cf. Charter, Regulations, etc., of the Seminary*, 1834, p. 9). Another teacher, who came later, was the Rev. T. W. Coit.

ordained on Sunday, November 9, 1834.[67] These early fruits were good to contemplate, but unfortunately they did not constitute a pledge of things to come. Although the entrance requirements were quite low,[68] students did not see fit to take advantage of them. The seminary proved to be a failure. Its administrative and financial troubles, which were just ahead, involved the Diocese in the scandal of what was intended as a formal trial of its Bishop. After abandoning the Lexington property, the Diocese tried to operate a Theological Department in a Diocesan College, but that plan, too, was a failure.[69]

H. *AMBITIONS FOR A SEMINARY IN TENNESSEE*

Tennessee wanted to have a seminary as soon as possible; the Diocesan Convention in 1832 passed a resolution to that effect.[70] Two years later, the newly elected Bishop, James H. Otey, appealed to the Convention to establish such an institution. The young Diocese was not ready to make the venture. There are some further references to the matter, but no definite steps were taken; Bishop Otey himself, as his biography shows, was busy enough with his visitations and other necessary labors. One series of efforts was directed toward founding a boys' school. Meanwhile, however, he kept before the Church people of Tennessee, and of Mississippi, too, the idea of an Episcopal University for that entire section of the country.[71] This proposition was so much bigger than that of a seminary for theological students that it had to wait long for its fulfillment. It finally came, however, when the University of the South, at Sewanee, Tennessee, was started, just before the Civil War.

[67] *Jours., Ky.*, 1833, pp. 10, 11; 1835, pp. 4, 5. The two ordained were Edmund Davis and M. L. Forbes.

[68] Caswall, *America and the American Church*, p. 217.

[69] *Cf. Jours., Ky.*, 1837 and ff. The Diocesan College (Shelby) failed.

[70] *Jour., Gen. Conv.*, 1832, p. 53.

[71] Green, *Life of Otey*, pp. 14-20.

I. *TRAINING SCHOOLS FOR WORKERS IN AFRICA*

The colonization of Liberia, an enterprise of great interest at this time, caused the problems of the negro race to stand out in bold relief. An *African Mission School Society,* started at a meeting held in Christ Church, Hartford, in the evening of August 7, 1828, opened in that city, on October 6, a school in which to train colored persons as missionaries, catechists and schoolmasters for work in the African colonies. Mr. Henry Spencer, a student at Washington College, was the first teacher. According to the by-laws, he had to live in the same house with the pupils, but he might take his meals elsewhere. Students must be at least eighteen years old, and able to read and write and do common examples in arithmetic. They must be of high character and show prospects of doing good service later on in Africa. All students had to perform at least two hours' manual labor each day, and attend prayers morning and evening. Not only was the tuition free, but the school would furnish even board and clothing to those who could not afford to pay for them.[72]

In spite of these manifest advantages, there was a "scarcity of suitable candidates for admission to the school."[73] By soliciting students, the executive committee succeeded in getting two; during the first year, three others arrived. The school had a day student, too, in the wife of one of the men, whose name was Gustavus Caesar. Several applicants who were under the age limit had been refused admission. After a few months one of the original students was granted "indefinite leave of absence." Another student, some months later, was dismissed for unsatisfactory conduct.[74] In the summer of 1830, two of the men, Gustavus V. Caesar and Edward Jones, were ordained; the

[72] *Episc. Watchman,* Aug. 9, 1828, p. 166; Aug. 16, 1828, p. 174; Sept. 6, 1828, p. 197; Aug. 15, 1829, p. 175.

[73] *Jour., Gen. Conv.,* 1829, p. 39.

[74] *Episc. Watchman,* Jan. 24, 1829, p. 358; Aug. 15, 1829, p. 175; Sept. 11, 1830, p. 139.

former, with his wife, went to Liberia, and the latter to England.[75] Another student, William Johnson, went to Liberia as catechist and schoolmaster.[76] This depletion left the school with only one student.[77] The later history of the institution and its remaining disciple is lost in obscurity. It is easy to see that, under the circumstances, there was nothing to do but close the doors. The pathos of the situation is considerably intensified by the fact that of the two young men who finished their ministerial training at the school only one (Caesar) went to Liberia, and he had been at work there only a short time when he died.[75]

An organization which intended to educate colored boys so that they would meet the relatively high standards of the Hartford school was the *African Education Society of the United States,* formed in Washington on the twenty-eighth of December, 1829,[78] to secure for "persons of color, destined to Africa, such an education in letters, agriculture and the mechanic arts, as may best qualify them for usefulness and influence in Africa."[79] They wanted young boys, intending "to make constant and untiring inroads on their wrong habits and propensities; to subject them to a steady, mild and salutary discipline; to exercise towards them a kind and parental care, guarding against the approach of every insidious and hurtful influence; to give them an intimate, practical acquaintance with agriculture, or some of the mechanical arts, most likely to be useful in Africa; to instruct them thoroughly in all the branches of a common school education; to endow them with industrious, active and manly habits; and to inspire them with virtuous,

[75] *Jours., Conn.,* 1831, p. 11; 1835, p. 8.

[76] *The Missionary Paper,* Sept., 1830, quoted in *Episc. Watchman,* Oct. 2, 1830, p. 163, states that Johnson was ready to go and that his passage was engaged.

[77] *Episc. Watchman,* Sept. 11, 1830, p. 139.

[78] *Report of Proceedings at Formation,* etc., p. 3.

[79] N. Y. *Observer,* Sept. 18, 1830, p. 149, quoting the constitution of the Society.

generous and honorable sentiments: in fine, to form their whole character, and render it, as far as possible, such as will qualify them to become pioneers in the renovation of Africa. Manual labor will of course ultimately aid in the support, and diminish the expense, of the establishment."[80]

These thorough plans indicate a truly serious attempt to meet a great problem, one which still remains unsolved. As expressed in a newspaper of the time, the school was going to try out "the capability of the African mind to be informed, improved, elevated and prepared for enlightening the most benighted region under heaven." For these high purposes the organization had purchased a "suitable building and grounds" on elevated land near Georgetown, close by the mouth of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, intending to open the school on the first Monday in September, 1830.[81] No account of the opening and no other references to the affairs of the school have come to light. Probably the institution met a fate similar to that of the Hartford School.[82]

It is natural to ask why these schools did not succeed. Connecticut claimed that the Hartford institution was failing through the "difficulty of making the intelligence [*i.e.*, concerning the existence of the school] known among the people of colour."[83] The Washington society believed that the Hartford standard was too high; "coloured persons on the stage of education, which they require for admission, can rarely be found." Anyway, the negroes were "prejudiced against emigration to Africa," and even if they had been anxious to go, the masters of the slaves were not willing to have them educated.[80] Of

[80] *Report of Proceedings at Formation,* etc., pp. 7, 8.

[81] N. Y. *Observer,* Sept. 18, 1830, p. 149.

[82] In the biography of Bishop Meade, the President of the organization, there is no reference to the school. Something would have been said there, no doubt, if the school had had any success.

[83] *Jour., Gen. Conv.,* 1829, p. 39.

course there were other factors in the case, but these last two reasons given by the Washington society were enough to account for the failure of these institutions; without the backing of either race, such undertakings were foredoomed.

XV.

COLLEGES AND SCHOOLS

A. *GENEVA (HOBART) COLLEGE*

GENEVA ACADEMY has been mentioned in connection with the theological training that was done there. On April 10, 1822, the institution received a provisional college charter. On February 8, 1824, it was fully chartered as Geneva College; instruction on that basis began in the September following.[1] Its class of 1826 was the first to graduate from any Episcopal College established since the American Revolution.[2] In addition to the regular course in the classics, the college had an English course, to be covered in three years. Here the modern languages took the place of Greek and Latin. In those studies which were common to both the classical and the English courses, the students recited together.[3]

"In order to dispel the prejudices known to exist in relation to the religious instruction of pupils at this College," the trustees announced that while the majority of their board and of the faculty belonged to one particular communion, and while the bulk of the college funds had come from "members of one denomination," as was the case with "every college in the country," there was no "distinction or preference in favor of the peculiar tenets of that denomination." Whenever the course of study led to questions of "the vital truths of revealed religion," the college upheld the truths common to all Christians, but not in a denominational way. Students were required to attend

[1] *Catalogue, Hobart Free Coll.*, 1856, pp. 3, 4.

[2] *Catalogue (Gen.)*, *Hobart Coll.*, 1825-1897, p. v. There were six in the class, all of them candidates for Holy Orders (Hayes, *Dioc. West. N. Y.*, p. 57).

[3] *Gospel Messenger* (Auburn), Jan. 8, 1831, p. 188; address of the trustees, dated Nov. 10, 1830.

services morning and evening every day, and on Sundays to go to the churches which had been designated by their parents or their guardians.[4]

Expenses at Geneva remind us of the simplicity of the time. Tuition was twenty dollars a year, and room rent five dollars more; table board cost a dollar and a half a week.[4] Proportionally, then, two financial benefits that came in 1824 were not small. One was the payment to the college by the General Theological Seminary of the sum of eight thousand dollars for giving up the Branch Theological School and relinquishing all claims for money accruing to that institution. The other was a grant by the Protestant Episcopal Society for the Promotion of Religion and Learning of the interest on $12,500. The next year Mrs. Startin's legacy of $5260 founded the Charles Startin Professorship of the Evidences of Natural and Revealed Religion. In 1826 the Rev. Jasper Adams, D.D., accepted this chair; two years later the Rev. Richard Sharp Mason, D.D., succeeded him. Each of these men was at the same time president of the college.[5] Of course the great name at the Geneva institution was that of Bishop Hobart. It was he who had started the Branch Theological School and it was he who had turned over the Startin legacy, the use of which had been left to his discretion, toward the professorship just mentioned. Recollection of these things some years later caused the change of the college's name from "Geneva" to "Hobart."

B. *WASHINGTON (TRINITY) COLLEGE*

Washington, afterward called Trinity, College, in Hartford, Connecticut, was a good classical college under Church supervision. It was chartered in May, 1823. In a year's time the friends of the institution raised about fifty thousand dollars;

[4] *Gospel Messenger* (Auburn), Jan. 8, 1831, p. 188; address of the Trustees, dated Nov. 10, 1830.

[5] *Catalogue, Hobart Free Coll.*, 1856, pp. 3, 4, 10 ff. This catalogue has a list of all the teachers from the beginning.

since three-fourths of this had come from Hartford, the trustees located the college there.[6] Construction began in June, 1824. On the twenty-third of the following September the institution opened in some hired rooms in the city, with one senior, one sophomore, six freshmen and one special student. By the end of the year there were twenty-eight students.[7] The session of 1833-1834 opened with nearly double that number; more than half of these men were planning to enter the ministry.[8]

According to orthodox educational views of the time, the classics formed the backbone of the curriculum, with declamations throughout the entire course.[9] The college believed thoroughly in the disciplinary value of mathematics and the classics; they strengthened the intellectual "faculties." "Intellectual education, as distinguished from moral and religious discipline . . . should consist of a series of exercises calculated to improve the intellectual faculties." This improvement came through "the study of the exact sciences, and of the classical writings of antiquity." These "Greek and Roman Classics" had been so thoroughly tested so long a time that "the verdict of the learned has been, for centuries" in their favor "as the only road to sound learning and thorough mental cultivation." Mathematical achievement was rarely used practically, but "toil in mathematical solutions" strengthened the "reasoning faculties."[10]

No course was complete, the college authorities believed, without religious principle and the knowledge of moral duty

[6] *Statement of the Course of Study*, etc., 1835, p. 3. *Jour., Gen. Conv.*, 1829, p. 39, says that the "exertions and sacrifices of the city of Hartford" caused the institution to be located in that city, but Croswell wrote (Croswell, W., *Diary*, April 22 and May 6, 1824) that Hartford's offers were "nominal," whereas New Haven had offered twenty thousand dollars in cash; and that the Hartford location would probably "prove fatal to the institution."

[7] Hart, art. "Trinity College" in Perry, *Hist. of P. E. Ch.*, II, pp. 541, 542.

[8] *Swords's Almanac*, 1834, p. 75.

[9] *Catalogue, Washington Coll.*, 1829, pp. 10, 11.

[10] *Statement of the Course of Study*, etc., pp. 4-6.

"as displayed in the revealed will of God." Just how much the "Sacred text" should be used in a classical course was not certain, but the Bible should receive the attention due to its "authority" and "the sublimity of its origin." There was morning and evening prayer daily in the chapel, with reading of the Bible; on Sundays the young men were required to attend public worship, either in the college chapel or wherever their parents or guardians might desire.[11] There was a regular class in Scriptural instruction, although there is no mention of *required* Bible study in the entire curriculum. A good number of the students belonged to a voluntary organization which met weekly for "religious exercises, serious reading, and the discussion of theological subjects." Occasionally they held missionary meetings, and they raised "a considerable fund" every year for missionary purposes. Most of the students belonged to a Temperance Society. In 1834 they began to use the chapel for a Sunday School composed of children from the neighborhood.[12]

Although the college, by its charter, was technically a non-sectarian institution,[11] it has always been Episcopalian in effect. Bishop Brownell led the movement to start it, and became its first president. Its teachers were practically all Episcopalians. Such future Bishops as George Washington Doane and Alonzo Potter were professors there in those early days. The Rev. Dr. Samuel F. Jarvis was not only a professor but also a benefactor of the college library. When the institution changed its name to "Trinity," in 1845, the two stone buildings which had been started in 1824 and finished the next year, were named after Bishops Seabury and Jarvis. The one contained the chapel and the recitation rooms, and the other was a dormitory. Rooms could be had at about one-half the cost at Geneva, but tuition was more,—thirty-three dollars a year.[13]

[11] The charter prohibited denominational requirements of students, teachers and officers.

[12] *Statement of the Course of Study*, etc., pp. 9-11.

[13] Such facts are to be found in the various catalogues of the institution.

C. *KENYON COLLEGE*

Kenyon College, at Gambier, Ohio, came into view in connection with Bishop Chase's plan for theological training of young men born in that wilderness region. It was part and parcel of that plan, and was so described. It should be added that in this big venture of faith the Bishop's wife stood bravely by him, serving as housekeeper, secretary, adviser and treasurer; there is little doubt concerning the truth of the statement that "such a commencement of a great institution of religion and learning, on so economical a plan, was never elsewhere witnessed."[14] The judgment of the Bishop in making his institution simple, to fit the primitive conditions that prevailed in his Diocese, was verified by the fact that year by year the number of students continued to increase.

The young men did a great deal of religious work. Within a radius of eight miles from the college they conducted sixteen Sunday Schools, in connection with which they held services and acted as missionaries among the poor settlers. Not only did these efforts open up centers of Church development, but also they aided the spiritual life of the students themselves. There were occasional religious revivals at Gambier, when for weeks at a time the students would hold regular meetings for devotion, which were well attended; at one time the religious fervor became so intense that for a day or two all classes were suspended.[15]

Probably some of the leaders in these devout proceedings were theological students; in the early days they were not clearly separated from the other young men. Bishop Chase had kept the activities of the Gambier institution informally blended, under his own direct supervision. Partly because he had founded and built up the place and partly because his purpose in doing so had been to train up ministers for work in

[14] Chase, *Rem.*, I, p. 452.
[15] Dyer, *Records of an Active Life*, pp. 57-63.

Ohio, he had rather naturally come to be the somewhat autocratic director of its affairs. This personal government, benevolent though it was, finally caused the serious administrative friction which resulted in Chase's resignation and departure from the Diocese in 1831. In 1833, as has been said, the theological and the collegiate students began to have separate departmental work; four years later the faculties of these two departments were legally sundered.

D. *BRISTOL COLLEGE*

A manual labor college intended mostly for prospective ministers flourished for a short time near Bristol, Bucks County, Pennsylvania. Soon after the *Episcopal Education Society* had been organized in Philadelphia, in 1825, it had started such an institution on a farm near Wilmington, Delaware; the place had proved to be too small and the society had therefore bought the larger property near Bristol.[16] The institution reopened there as Bristol College on October 2, 1833, with fifty students, most of whom intended to be ordained; those who needed financial help received it from the *Episcopal Education Society*.[17] At the time of opening, the college had three buildings,—the original mansion, a smaller dwelling house[18] and a new three-story brick workshop.[17] During the first year this shop became a dormitory, and a wooden structure took its place. Even then the institution was so crowded that many applicants had to be turned away.[19] The college authorities therefore started Pennsylvania Hall, a large building to accommodate one hundred and twenty more students, and also asked for a new chapel.[20]

In addition to the college proper there were at Bristol an

[16] Tyng, *Memoir of Bedell,* pp. 276, 277, 280.
[17] The *Churchman,* Oct. 19, 1833, p. 539.
[18] *Churchman's Almanac,* 1836, p. 36.
[19] The *Churchman,* June 7, 1834, p. 671.
[20] Colton, *Inaugural Address,* Bristol ed., p. 27, footnote.

academic department, which was a preparatory school for boys over fifteen years of age, and a "Select School" for the younger boys.[21] All the students formed an Episcopal congregation, of which the president of the college was the pastor.[18] Of the text-books listed in the catalogue, more than half were classics. For studies in religion the freshmen had two Bible courses, one of which was exegetical; the sophomores, too, had their work on the Scriptures. Juniors kept on with their Bible studies and, in addition, took up theology, ethics and Christian evidences. Seniors used Butler's *Analogy* and studied the ethics of the New Testament. Throughout the college course the students had various dissertations and declamations, and lessons on classical and Biblical archeology. For a year's tuition, board and room rent, collegians paid one hundred dollars; those in the academic department paid twenty-five dollars more; boys in the "Select School" paid two hundred dollars.[22]

As quaintly stated by the Rev. Stephen H. Tyng, the institution had been founded with the idea of "uniting manual labor with mental improvement, and converting the hours of recreation into a source of pecuniary profit."[23] So it was that physical work was required of all students at Bristol; in the college shops, gardens and farms, they labored three hours a day. Each new student worked thus for an "initiatory" period of twenty weeks, after which time, if all went well, he began to receive credit for his work, on a profit-sharing basis. For this purpose the actuary of the institution kept an account with each student, entirely apart from his academic finances. At every settlement the actuary deducted eight per cent, which went into the college treasury toward expenses of management and rent of shops and grounds. Each student who toiled on the farm or in

[21] *Catalogue, Bristol Coll.*, 1835, pp. 18 ff.

[22] Colton, *Inaugural Address*, Bristol ed., p. 40; Philadelphia ed., pp. 49, 51, 52.

[23] Tyng, *Life of S. H. Tyng*, p. 115.

the gardens paid one dollar a term for the use of implements. Workers in the shops furnished their own tools. Penalties and responsibilities were on the same principle as in the "Intellectual Department." Similar rules of manual work applied to the boys in the "Select School," only the "initiatory" stage was quite flexible and the maximum period of work was fixed at two hours regularly and three hours on Saturdays.[24]

These theories appear to be reasonable. Bristol College made a brave attempt to carry them out, but the institution lasted only a few years. Financial troubles arose.[25] About the beginning of 1836 an agent started to go round to raise money for the college, but he died a few months later without having replenished the treasury. Dr. Chauncey Colton, the president of the college, resigned and departed for Gambier, Ohio.[26] The manual labor college named "Bristol" soon went out of existence.[27]

E. *WORTHINGTON COLLEGE*

Worthington College, at Worthington, Ohio, deserves mention here, although its connection with the Episcopal Church was brief and somewhat shadowy. In the summer of 1817 the Rev. Philander Chase, then a missionary in Ohio, located in Worthington and soon became principal of the academy there. Greater things were expected, evidently, for Mrs. Chase wrote to a friend something about the "future fame and usefulness"

[24] Colton, *Inaug. Ad.*, Bristol ed., pp. 32-34, quoting the laws of the college.

[25] Tyng, *Life of S. H. Tyng*, p. 119. S. G. Fisher, *Church Colleges*, pp. 98, 99, prints a letter dated July 25, 1895, from R. B. Fairbairn, warden of St. Stephen's College at the time, but formerly a student at Bristol College, saying that religion was very prominent in the curriculum at Bristol, that the manual labor undertaking failed, and that the college was on too cheap a plan and "died for want of money."

[26] The *Churchman*, Mar. 19, 1836, p. 1044 (quoting the *Episc. Recorder*); Oct. 1, 1836, p. 1155; Oct. 22, 1836, p. 1167.

[27] Davis, *Hist. of Bucks Co., Pa.*, p. 133; Tyng, *op. cit.*, p. 119. In the autumn of 1839 the place became St. James Hall, in charge of Mr. A. F. Dobb (*Jour. Rel. Ed.*, Oct., 1839, p. 291).

of the institution.[28] On February 8, 1819, the Legislature of Ohio gave the academy a college charter.[29] Chase became the first president of the college, which existed "for the education of young men in natural, moral and religious science." The Episcopal Convention of Ohio recommended the institution to the public.[30] Mr. Chester Griswold began to collect funds for it.[31] However, in the autumn of 1821 Bishop Chase removed to Cincinnati, where he served as president of the college there.[32] His departure broke what connection Worthington College itself had with the Episcopal Church. The institution continued to exist, but in 1830 it became a "Reformed Medical College," which, after a troublous existence of about ten years, lost its right to grant medical degrees.[33]

F. *CHURCH SCHOOLS*

1. EARLY CHURCH SCHOOL WORK WITH BOYS

Not only young men, but boys and girls also, were now beginning to be objects of the Church's educational solicitude. To locate the earliest Church school department for boys we must look, not along the settled Atlantic seaboard, but in the new western region where Bishop Chase was arranging to train up sons of the Ohio soil. His educational project, actually put into operation in the winter of 1824-1825,[34] embraced a theological seminary, a college (Kenyon) and a preparatory grammar division for boys. It is not clear, however, what proportion of

[28] Chase, *Rem.*, I, pp. 133, 134, 143.
[29] Laws of Ohio, quoted in *Old N. W. Gen. Quar.*, 1903, pp. 158, 159.
[30] *Jours., Ohio,* 1819, p. 5; 1820, p. 20.
[31] The *Christian Jour. and Lit. Reg.*, July, 1819, p. 221.
[32] Chase, *Rem.*, I, pp. 179, 180.
[33] *Old N. W. Gen. Quar.*, 1903, pp. 159, 160, 164 ff. In 1859 the college buildings were used as a preparatory school for Kenyon College (*Jour., Ohio,* 1860, pp. 58, 59).
[34] Chase, *Rem.*, I, p. 439.

the total number of twenty-five students in Worthington in the first year,[35] or of the thirty students of the second year,[36] were classed as boys. At first all who came lived together as members of Bishop Chase's household, but very soon a few rough buildings went up as temporary accommodations for the increasing numbers of students.[35]

In June, 1827, the Bishop started building operations on a new site at Gambier, where a large frame building housed the preparatory department.[37] The lower floor was used as the schoolroom and chapel,[38] while the entire upper story served as the one dormitory for the boys; through spacious windows facing the several rows of cots, the teacher in charge could keep vigil from his own separate room.[39] The boys had to be early risers, for the first recitation, in the classics, came at six o'clock; this was followed by chapel, then breakfast.[37] A diary entry of January 1, 1826, made by the first student who had come to Worthington, shows that a year's tuition at the grammar school cost ten dollars, and board for a week cost a dollar and a quarter; at the time the teacher was Mr. Gideon McMillan.[40] A few years later a young man from an eastern college came to Gambier to take charge of the boys, but one night, after some demonstrations of inability to get along with them, he fled to parts unknown. Bishop Chase found a new principal of the grammar department in Mr. Heman Dyer, a student at Gam-

[35] Burr, E., article in *Kenyon Book,* pp. 189, 190.

[36] *Jour., Gen. Conv.,* 1826, p. 54.

[37] Dyer, *Records of an Active Life,* p. 68.

[38] This was the chapel for the whole institution until Rosse Chapel became available.

[39] Smith, L. C., *Life of Chase,* p. 205, quoting a description by Dudley Chase; his reference to the cots arranged in rows "as in a hospital" implies a good number of boys to use these numerous cots.

[40] The diary was that of Erastus Burr, which he himself quotes in the *Kenyon Book,* p. 190. McMillan left early in 1827 and was succeeded by M. T. C. Wing, who taught at Gambier for many years afterward.

bier. Associated with him as teachers were Messrs. Sherman Finch and David Fuller.[41]

In 1833, Bishop McIlvaine, who had succeeded Chase as Bishop of Ohio, raised money enough to erect for the preparatory department a new brick building, which was called Milnor Hall.[42] The growth of the department had justified this step;[41] in 1831 it had to be divided into two sections, the junior and the senior,[43] which in 1835 had enrollments of fifty-seven and fifty-two respectively. The former section then occupied Milnor Hall.[44] These junior boys were from eleven to fifteen years old. Beside sacred music and the Bible, they studied the "three R's," with spelling and grammar, the classics, bookkeeping and geography. They had to attend prayers morning and evening, and go to church on Sunday. They studied the Scriptures weekly. The senior boys in the preparatory department had most of these same studies, and in addition they took up such advanced subjects as mathematics, history, logic, drawing and the "Principles of Teaching."[45]

Another early Church school which educated boys was the one started by John Henry Hopkins in his own house in Pittsburgh. It was not primarily a boys' school, however, for in 1826 he took in six girls to educate with his own daughters, and then "afterward," probably in 1827, added a department for boys. The numbers of both sexes increased, requiring in a few years two enlargements of the school quarters. A spacious room was made over into a chapel, where the boys and the girls

[41] Dyer, *Records of an Active Life*, pp. 63 ff. Dyer became a prominent figure in the Church.

[42] McIlvaine, *An Earnest Word*, Preface. Soon after the erection of Milnor Hall the original wooden building burned down (*cf. Kenyon Book*, p. 235).

[43] *Catalogue, Theol. Sem., Dioc. Ohio and Kenyon Coll.*, 1857-1858, p. 45.

[44] The senior preparatory department had no building of its own; the students roomed in the main college building (*Gambier Catalogue*, 1843-1844, p. 5).

[45] *Catalogue, Theol. Sem., Dioc. Ohio, Kenyon Coll. and Kenyon Prep. School*, 1836, *passim*. Teachers were George P. Williams and John B. Foster, in the senior department; and Heman Dyer and Edward Lounsbury, in the junior department.

worshipped together every morning and evening. Each department had a garden. Twice a year the boys and the girls together gave a concert and exhibition of their drawings and paintings. Hopkins would not allow either public examinations or competition. His school had just become well established when, in 1831, it came to an end through his removal to Cambridge, Massachusetts.[46] Meanwhile a Church school in Flushing, New York, entirely for boys, was becoming known throughout the country for its effective religious teaching and its strict, though kindly, discipline.

2. FLUSHING INSTITUTE

In 1827, at Flushing, Long Island, the Rev. William A. Muhlenberg founded a boys' school, which, although not controlled by the Diocese or by the Bishop, soon became the model institution for emphasizing Christianity in the education of boys under a strict system of benevolent paternalism. Muhlenberg began his ministry in 1817 as an assistant to Bishop White in Philadelphia; after three years he accepted a call to the rectorship of St. James's Church, Lancaster, Pennsylvania. There his interest in education became intense. He not only started a Sunday School and had a house erected for it, but he also succeeded in getting the Legislature to establish in Lancaster a public school, which he visited constantly.[47] After more than five years in Lancaster, Muhlenberg became the Rector of St. George's Church, Flushing.[48] The call of education, especially Christian education, became so imperious that he decided to give himself over to it. He started the Flushing Institute, the corner stone of which was laid on the eleventh of August, 1827; it opened the following spring. Resigning the rectorship of St.

[46] Hopkins, *Life of Hopkins*, pp. 116-119, 127.
[47] Ayres, *Life of Muhlenberg*, pp. 50, 56, 59-62.
[48] *Jour., N. Y.*, 1826, pp. 9, 27, 70.

George's Church, he devoted himself entirely to the work of Christian education.[49]

From the start, the institute was a success. By the third year it had a hundred students, twenty more than Muhlenberg had expected.[50] Matters went along encouragingly until he merged his Flushing Institute with St. Paul's College, which he started in 1835 by the purchase of a large tract of land a few miles north of Flushing. The great panic of 1837 checked building activities there and nearly ruined the institution, which lasted only a few years longer. Meanwhile, however, the name of Muhlenberg had come to stand for approved leadership in a new and valuable type of education, one which wove together religious and mental training as the warp and woof of the substantial texture of real manhood. After the Flushing Institute had been in successful operation for a few years, the *Churchman* said: "Mr. Muhlenberg long since took the lead, both in theory and practice, in devoting education to its proper use—the training of soul as well as body, of spirit as well as mind."[51] Years later, when Church schools for boys were to be found in different parts of the country, Tiffany said of Muhlenberg: "He first started and made successful, with the success which has been the fruitful germ of all its rich after-growth, the church school."[52]

Muhlenberg blended together the three great American institutions,—the home, the school and the Church,—supplying the home element by means of a rigidly paternalistic administration. Some of the rules of the Flushing Institute, in condensed form, were:

All students shall be on probation for three months.

Leave of absence shall not be granted except on the written request, to the Principal, from parent or guardian.

[49] Ayres, *op. cit.*, pp. 88, 97.
[50] *Ibid.*, p. 125.
[51] The *Churchman*, July 6, 1833, p. 479.
[52] Tiffany, *Hist. of P. E. Ch.*, p. 484.

All must conform to the worship of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

Offences will be punished according to their degree, or their frequency, by "admonition, suspension or dismission."

Pupils must be truthful and obedient; they must respect the rights of others; they must abstain from profane and obscene language; they must be clean; they must do no violence; they must never leave bounds without permission.

All money must be handled through the Principal; there shall be no buying at the stores, except by permission.

Games of chance shall be forbidden; also tobacco, and things requiring concealment.

Students must be careful of the property, and obey the bell.

The ordinary day began with the waking bell, at ten minutes before six. Then came the roll call and prayers in the chapel, after which the boys had their breakfast. The morning went in study and recitations. The five afternoon hours were spent in recreation, study, recitation, recreation and study, respectively. Evenings were times for reading and relaxation. Chapel ended the day,—at nine o'clock. On Saturday afternoons the boys amused themselves. Sunday was a day of many religious activities. After roll call, at six o'clock, came chapel and then breakfast. Following this were Scripture lessons and the giving out of questions, in the chapel again. After an hour's work memorizing Bible passages the boys went to chapel once more for a service and sermon, at half-past ten o'clock. After dinner they spent half an hour preparing answers to questions on the sermon. At two o'clock they recited Scripture lessons. At half-past three they had chapel again. From seven to eight o'clock religious meetings were held either in the chapel or in the rooms of the instructors. The day ended with prayers at nine o'clock.[53]

Muhlenberg prohibited all emulation and giving of prizes.[54]

[53] *Jour. of the Institute at Flushing,* Dec., 1834, pp. 1-4. The rules are important because they were so generally approved and copied.

[54] Ayres, *Life of Muhlenberg,* pp. 104, 105. Such things were bad morally,

He published the boys' ranks in the school magazine, the *Journal of the Institute at Flushing*, but instead of a boy's name he used initials which were known only to the boy, his teachers and his family. A perfect recitation received the mark 1, the next grade of achievement 7/8, and so on down by eighths. One actual report printed in the *Journal* begins:

	First Rank
Junior Class	None
Rhetoric Class	D. I., D. E.
Geometry Class	E. Z., E. B., E. M., E. C.
Greek Class	G. L., F. D., A. G.
Latin Class	None
Grammar Class	A. L., A. P.

There was also a "Disorder Roll"; F. A., for instance, had the highest number of "disorder" marks,—28. D. P. had 21, and so on down through twenty-nine cases, of which the last was B. Q., with only four points of disorder against him. These marks figured in the ultimate ranking of the boys.[55]

The literature of the time contains many words of approval of Dr. Muhlenberg's plan of Christian education. Not only was the idea of running a school as a large Christian family excellent in itself, but also it counterbalanced, to some extent, the increasing lack of religion in public education. So it was that schools and colleges turned to Muhlenberg for a successful method of impregnating education with Christian principles. A notable case was that of the Episcopal School at Raleigh, North Carolina, which Bishop George W. Doane regarded as the "first truly Episcopal School."[56] Even if it was, Bishop Ives visited the Flushing Institute to learn the methods employed

Muhlenberg believed. The *Churchman*, Dec. 20, 1834, p. 783, has an editorial on the evils of emulation as destructive of the true motive to industry.

[55] *Jour. of the Institute at Flushing*, Feb., 1833, p. 13; Jan., 1834, pp. 16-18; May, 1834, p. 130.

[56] Doane, *Memoir of Doane*, p. 138. Doane wanted more ecclesiastical control than suited Muhlenberg's taste (*cf.* Ayres, *Life of Muhlenberg*, p. 124).

there,[57] methods which the Raleigh school adopted in their entirety.

3. THE EPISCOPAL SCHOOL AT RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA

In 1823 Mr. (later Bishop) George W. Freeman advertised for "eight or ten young gentlemen" to come and live in his home in Raleigh, North Carolina, and receive instruction in the classics and mathematics. Not only did Bishop Ravenscroft approve of this venture but he took pains to recommend Freeman and his school to the Episcopal families of the Diocese. The school thus informally started continued "with indifferent success" until 1833, when the Diocese took steps to enlarge it and give it permanence. On June 2, 1834, the institution took possession of a substantial granite building which had been erected for it and began a new life as the Diocesan "Episcopal School." Moreover, the authorities were sanguine enough to plan for two more buildings, one of them a duplicate of this edifice and another still larger.[58]

Bishop Ives's visit to the Flushing Institute bore fruit in Raleigh. The Episcopal School was run entirely on Muhlenberg's plan of benevolent paternalism. After a thorough scrutiny of the Raleigh institution, a committee reported that it was "paternal," as had been promised. The students looked "cheerful and animated" and had "easy but respectful intercourse with their Principal," who was Mr. Cogswell. As at Flushing Institute, there were no rewards and no comparison of marks. Instead, the motives were "desire of improvement, the anxiety to secure the good opinion of their instructors, and of the wise and good among their friends and acquaintances, and the approving voice of their own consciences." The rule forbidding accounts at the stores and requiring that all money be deposited

[57] Haywood, *Lives of the Bishops of N. C.*, p. 104.
[58] Coon, *Doc. Hist. of N. C. Schools and Academies*, pp. xxiv, 535-541.

with the principal had been violated only "in one or two instances."

During the first few months in the new building the school enrollment ran up to sixty-seven. Instructions were in six departments:

1. *Religious,* "comprising six classes in the Bible, Catechism and Ethics, and including all the pupils" (except three who could not read). Bishop Ives himself observed that the pupils had been "diligently instructed in the principles and duties of the Christian faith."
2. *English,* "comprising three classes in Orthography and Reading, and four in Grammar and Rhetoric."
3. *Ancient Languages,* "consisting of four classes in Greek and five in Latin."
4. *Modern Languages,* "consisting of three classes in French, one in Spanish, and one in Italian."
5. *Mathematics,* Two classes in Algebra and one in Arithmetic.
6. Geography and History, One class in each subject.[59]

This promising school soon lost its official connection with the Episcopal Church. The year 1835 seemed very hopeful; eighty-seven pupils had enrolled, and the Diocesan Convention of that year loaned the Episcopal fund for the completion of the proposed new buildings. Soon, however, came the great panic; a special Convention of the Diocese, held on November 25, 1837, tried to stem the tide of financial embarrassment, but to no avail. Mr. Cogswell had left and the Rev. Adam Empie, too, had found it impossible to hold the position of principal; the Rev. Moses A. Curtis had been put in charge of the institution. In 1838 the Church gave up all claims to oversight of the school, which Mr. Curtis took over and, beginning on January 14, 1839, conducted on his own responsibility.[60]

[59] Report of the Examining Committee reprinted in Coon, *op. cit.,* pp. 541-545, from the Raleigh *Register* of Dec. 9, 1834.

[60] Various issues of the Raleigh *Register;* the Raleigh *Star,* June 21, 1837; the *Standard,* June 19, 1835. Quoted in Coon, *op. cit.,* pp. 545-549.

4. THE BEGINNINGS OF CHURCH SCHOOLS FOR GIRLS

As has been stated, the Episcopal Church was now beginning to extend its educational privileges to girls. From the religious point of view this was a natural step, but from a purely intellectual standpoint, "female education," as the mental training of that sex was then called, was usually regarded as a senseless innovation. A great deal of pioneer work had to be done before the average girl could expect any diploma other than a sampler daintily worked with her own fingers. Because of the general failure to see any value in training the minds of girls, "female education" had been left "to the mercy of private adventurers," who, instead of providing any solid intellectual content, merely supplied their pupils with "fashionable toys."[61] Feeling the disgrace of such a backward state of affairs, Mrs. Emma Willard, in 1814, opened a girls' school at Middlebury, Vermont, where she succeeded in enrolling boarding pupils from several different states. By appealing to Governor Clinton, of New York, for more generous consideration of the education of her sex, she got the matter before the New York Legislature at its session of 1818-1819, where "the rights of women, in regard to education, were, now, for the first time in the course of ages, pleaded in a legislative hall." The result of the agitation was a law putting female academies in New York on the same basis as those for males. In 1819 Mrs. Willard removed her school to Waterford, New York; two years later she secured larger quarters in Troy, New York, where her institution continued to increase in size and importance.[62] Meanwhile, other seminaries for girls were springing up;[63] to such institutions the

[61] Willard, E., *Address to the Public,* pp. 7, 13.

[62] The *Evergreen,* Aug., 1851, pp. 225 ff.

[63] Catalogues of the Hartford Female Seminary, 1828; Messrs. Van Doren's Collegiate Institute for Young Ladies, Brooklyn Heights, 1829; Young Ladies' High School, Boston, 1826, 1829; and Troy Female Seminary, 1829, are bound together at the Yale University Library.

daughters of the Church could go, before a sufficient number of Episcopal schools for girls opened their doors.

Sometimes prominent Episcopal clergymen gave their approval to schools that were not under Church control.[64] From Hartford, Mrs. Kinneer advertised that her young ladies' seminary had been commended by Bishop Brownell and several influential clergymen of the Diocese, whom she named, and also that some of the instructors at the Episcopal College, then called "Washington," would teach at the seminary.[65] The second public examination of the school, held on December 21 and 22, 1827, covered the subjects of geography, history, arithmetic, English grammar, natural and moral philosophy and chemistry. The affair closed with the reading of original compositions by the advanced pupils.[66] The curriculum further included rhetoric, *belles-lettres,* Latin, philosophy, chemistry and astronomy; also painting, music and French, subject to extra charge.[65] Episcopal approval must have been founded on the generally good character of the institution rather than on any direct religious teaching. The time had not yet come when Bishops could direct the girls of Episcopal families to various private schools where they would have their Prayer Book teachings and services. However, some beginnings were being made, beginnings which augured well for the future.

What seems to have been the first work of educating girls in a purely Episcopal academic institution was done at Cheshire Academy, in Connecticut, when Tillotson Bronson was principal; his death in 1826 ended his term of twenty years in that office. Considering the disrupted state of the institution after

[64] The following Episcopal clergymen were "Visiters" and examiners at the Messrs. Van Doren's Collegiate Institute for Young Ladies, in Brooklyn (*cf. Catalogue,* 1829): James Milnor, J. M. Wainwright, John F. Schroeder and Charles P. McIlvaine.

[65] *Episc. Watchman,* Apr. 2, 1827, p. 16. Mrs. Kinneer had come to Hartford in 1827, after conducting a seminary in Derby for five years.

[66] *Episc. Watchman,* Jan. 7, 1828, p. 335.

Bronson's death, it is probable that few or no girls then came there to study. The privilege of "female education" at Cheshire Academy ended in 1836.[67]

A school for girls opened in the spring of 1826 in the home of the Rev. John Henry Hopkins, in Pittsburgh. At first composed of half a dozen girls, beside Hopkins's own daughters, the school soon began to increase its enrollment. Hopkins was sufficiently encouraged to start also a school for boys. In the five years before his removal to Cambridge, he had to enlarge the school quarters twice. He converted the best room in the house into a chapel, where he had Morning and Evening Prayer for both sexes. In addition to the regular school training, there was garden work, and such cultural studies as drawing, music and painting. Twice a year the girls took part in a concert and exhibition of work, to which they invited their relatives and friends. Contrary to the custom of the time, Hopkins conducted no public examinations and allowed no competition among the girls.[68] We should remember Hopkins as a man whose activities in Church education ceased only with his death. It was this educational zeal directed toward theological students that helped to induce him to leave Pittsburgh, in 1831, and settle in Cambridge, Massachusetts. The Pittsburgh school ended with his departure.

Another Episcopal school for girls, *Hannah More Academy*, was founded at Reisterstown, Maryland, in 1832, through Mrs. Ann Nielson's gift of ten thousand dollars and three acres of land to a girls' academy which should keep religion uppermost in its teaching. After erecting a two-story brick building to accommodate fifteen or twenty boarding pupils, the institution opened in 1834.[69] It gave the doctrines and teachings of the

[67] *Cf. supra*, p. 98.

[68] Hopkins, *Life of Hopkins*, pp. 116-119, 127. Muhlenberg's Flushing Institute, opened in 1828, prohibited emulation, as did many schools and colleges afterward.

[69] *Jour., Md.*, 1874, pp. 225-227.

Church a prominent place in the curriculum, and eventually, in 1873, became the official Diocesan School for girls; it is still (1924) in active existence. We are probably safe in calling *Hannah More Academy* the first Episcopal school permanently established solely for the education of girls. Others followed, many of which were started by Bishops. An account of them belongs to a later period.

G. *ACADEMIES AND OTHER SCHOOLS OF THE TIME*

The paternalistic schools at Flushing and at Raleigh were notable efforts to give boys a thorough Christian training in institutions of learning. They were the precursors of the modern Church boarding schools for the scrupulous education of boys. Charity schools were for children in less fortunate circumstances. On December 1, 1823, Grace Church, in New York City, opened such a school.[70] In its first year it taught 110 boys and 125 girls the common branches of secular knowledge and the doctrines and worship of the Episcopal Church.[71] It was rather late, however, to start a charity school, for the public school idea was now beginning to crowd out the charity view of education, even in a large city like New York, where social and financial distinctions were great. This is seen in the case of the *Episcopal Charity School* in that city, which Trinity Church had so generously fostered. This school adopted the monitorial system of instruction, which enabled it to teach two hundred and fifty poor children daily, with due emphasis on religious education;[72] however, because the New York Free School Society was taking over the work of educating the poor, in 1826 the trustees of the *Episcopal Charity School* reorganized

[70] *Swords's Almanac*, 1825, p. 71.
[71] *Jour., N. Y.*, 1824, p. 36.
[72] *Jour., Gen. Conv.*, 1823, p. 29.

the institution as "The New York Protestant Episcopal Public School," teaching the classics and the principal subjects of a good English education, and keeping up the religious instruction. In 1832 Trinity Church granted the school, at a merely nominal price, a lease of five lots of ground;[73] the institution located on part of the land and rented out the other portion.[74] In the Parish of St. Thomas, near Charleston, South Carolina, poor children of both sexes continued to be educated at the expense of the Beresford fund, which dated back to the third decade of the eighteenth century.[75]

Episcopal academies had started early in Pennsylvania. We saw that the one at York, incorporated in 1787, after twelve years became a county institution. The one in Philadelphia, started in 1785, seems to have been unsuccessful; it was revived years later by Bishop Alonzo Potter.[76] In Connecticut, too, such institutions were born. The earliest, Cheshire Academy, we left in a flourishing condition at the close of the last period. Its success continued until the death of Dr. Bronson, its principal, in 1826. Then followed what Beardsley called the "dark age" of the academy. Qualified successors to Dr. Bronson were hard to find. The Rev. Christian F. Crusé served for a few months in 1831; the next year the Rev. Bethel Judd accepted the office, which he held for three years.[77] Meanwhile the institution had tried the plan of having the students perform manual labor to help pay their expenses, but that had not succeeded.[78] In 1835 the academy was in poor condition. Dr. Bronson's death had not been the sole cause of this "dark age." Not long before that sad event, Washington College, in Hartford, had

[73] On Canal, Varick and Grand Streets.

[74] Berrian, *Hist. of Trinity Ch., N. Y.*, pp. 99, 100; *Jour., Gen. Conv.*, 1829, p. 43. Later the institution became Trinity School.

[75] Meriwether, *Hist. of Higher Education in S. C.*, p. 15. *Cf.* also *supra*, p. 22.

[76] Howe, *Memoir of Alonzo Potter*, p. 167.

[77] Beardsley, *Address at 50th Anniv. of Cheshire Acad.*, pp. 21 ff.

[78] *Jour., Gen. Conv.*, 1832, p. 41.

opened; the Bishop had become its first president. For several years the new college received much attention and considerable money; after a decade or so equilibrium was restored and the academy prospered again.

Cheshire Academy gave thorough instruction in Latin and Greek, and also took up natural philosophy, history, rhetoric, mathematics and criticism, in addition to reading, writing, arithmetic, geography and bookkeeping. Charges were:

Board, exclusive of washing, light and firewood .	$1.50 per week
Rudiments of English education	3.00 per quarter
Higher branches of English education . . .	5.00 per quarter
Latin and Greek	5.00 per quarter

In the classes the teachers emphasized the spiritual side of life, and on Sundays the students were obliged to attend services both morning and afternoon at either the Episcopal Church or the Congregational place of worship.[79]

Other academies opened in Connecticut, at Norwalk, at Sharon and at Granby, all directed by Episcopalians. The principal of the Norwalk institution was the Rev. Reuben Sherwood.[80] On May 1, 1830, he started as the head of Hartford Academy,[81] which had just been established by Churchmen of the city as a "feeder for the College, and, in some measure, a nursery to the ministry."[82] It was conducted as a "well-ordered Christian household," giving, in addition to a secular education, "a regular and systematic course of moral and religious instruction," supplemented by "regular daily devotions" and, on Sundays, "the services of the Church." Students who were not Episcopalians might attend their own houses of worship "under the charge of some judicious friend."[81] Of the thirty

[79] *Episc. Watchman,* July 12, 1828, pp. 134, 135.
[80] *Jour., Gen. Conv.,* 1826, p. 31.
[81] *Gospel Messenger,* Dec. 12, 1829, p. 180.
[82] Beardsley, *Hist. of Episc. Ch. in Conn.,* II, p. 289.

people who composed the institution, twenty formed themselves into a Sunday School.[83] Unfortunately, this academy lasted only a year and the property went for other purposes.[82]

Although academies were now appearing in different parts of the country, such institutions under the authority of the Episcopal Church were still rare. There must have been a good many private schools like the one advertised:

PRIVATE INSTRUCTION

Several lads will be received into a family, where they will be instructed in the common branches of English or Classical Education, or in the French or Spanish languages. They will board in the family, and be under the competent superintendence of their instructor. The situation is about four or five miles from Boston; one of the pleasantest in the vicinity. Terms, $3.00 per week, including board and tuition. A conveyance to one of the Episcopal churches in Boston, if desired, will be provided on Sundays, at a small additional charge. Only a few, (six or seven) will be received,—Inquire of the Rev. Alonzo Potter, or the Rev. John L. Blake, Boston.[84]

This was an obvious and customary way to educate boys and at the same time keep them under the influence of the Church and its ideals. It was just these purposes that Muhlenberg fulfilled, on a larger scale, at his Flushing Institute. To meet the rapidly growing educational requirements and withal to uphold high Christian standards was indeed a great problem for Church educators. The idea of living together as a large Christian family under the arbitrary but benign guidance of a "Spiritual Father" was the best plan for the time. In fact, the idea was not original with Muhlenberg. It was the subconscious method of those days. In all the institutions mentioned there was a degree of supervision and restraint that would seem very

[83] *Jour., Conn.*, 1830, pp. 13, 38.
[84] *Episc. Watchman*, May 10, 1828, p. 64.

irksome in these days of freedom and early development of self-expression. If this was true of schools for boys, it was even more true of those for girls, which were soon to spring up in different parts of the country.

XVI.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PERIODICAL CHURCH LITERATURE

CHURCHMAN'S MAGAZINE

IN 1804, as we have seen, the *Churchman's Magazine,* which was the first periodical devoted to the interests of the Episcopal Church, started its career in New Haven. Four years later it removed to New York, where, after another four years' existence, it ceased publication. Revived at the beginning of 1813, in Elizabethtown, New Jersey, it expired again in the summer of 1815. In 1820 the clergy of Connecticut resolved to give the magazine another start.[1] Accordingly, it appeared again in January, 1821, from Hartford, "to communicate religious information and instruction, and to defend and explain the doctrines and principles of the Protestant Episcopal Church."[2]

At the end of the first year of this fresh effort the editors printed a page and a half of illuminating remarks about their work. They published many "extracts" in the magazine because "most of the editors are too deeply engaged in parochial duty to allow them much time for original composition," and because "they have received very few communications from their brethren of the clergy." Concerning these reprinted articles the editors trusted that their readers would find "no just cause of complaint." One of the compelling reasons why they were giving so much time and energy to the task of editing the periodical

[1] *Jour., Conn.,* 1820, p. 16.

[2] *Churchman's Magazine,* Jan., 1821, pp. 1, 2. There is a touch of editorial humor of the time, as well as a suggestion of conditions in the composing room, in a footnote to an article on "The Inspiration of Scripture," printed in the issue for July, 1821. It says: "We are compelled to omit the quotations from Epictetus and Plato, partly out of compliment to the majority of our readers, and partly through a deficiency of Greek type.—Ed."

was that they "saw with what assiduity other denominations circulated their Magazines, which, however much they might tend to general edification, were not calculated to enlighten Churchmen on those particular points of faith and discipline, which marked the early Church of Christ, and which we can never consent to surrender."

Thus the *Churchman's Magazine* continued for exactly three years. In the number for December, 1823, the editors announced that that was the last issue under the combined editorship; thereafter it was to be attended to by the Rev. B. G. Noble, of Middletown, Connecticut. On the back cover Noble printed a prospectus which suggested that the subscription list might be lengthened. Evidently this did little good, for the next number did not appear until April, 1825; it was printed in Middletown, but under the editorial direction of the Rev. Tillotson Bronson,[3] the head of Cheshire Academy. In this issue Bronson wrote that there would be no "spurious liberality" in the magazine, but that he would maintain the "plain, old-fashioned doctrines of the Bible, and of the venerable Church which gives it name." That was promising, but on September 6, 1826, Mr. Bronson died; the magazine continued on for a few months and passed out of existence altogether with the number for March, 1827. It was replaced by the *Episcopal Watchman.*[4]

CHRISTIAN REGISTER AND MORAL AND THEOLOGICAL REVIEW

In July, 1816, appeared the *Christian Register and Moral and Theological Review,* edited in New York by the Rev.

[3] Croswell, *Diary,* Nov. 24, 1824. Bronson had been editor years before. In this first number of his second term as editor he stated that the plan of combined editorship had failed again through "divided responsibility" and "dispersed location."

[4] *Churchman's Magazine,* April, 1825, p. 1; Dec., 1826, p. 267; Mar., 1827, pp. 380-382.

Thomas Y. How, D.D., an assistant minister at Trinity Church. It was a semiannual publication, each issue containing more than two hundred octavo pages. This size permitted the long articles that were printed in the magazine. The contents of the first volume were listed under the following heads: Biography, Religious Communications, Select Reviews, Original Reviews, Religious Intelligence (subdivided into Foreign and Domestic), Poetry, and Anecdotes of Pious Characters. The biographical material was scant; so were Religious Communications and Original Reviews and Poetry and Anecdotes. Under Select Reviews one finds such titles as *Apostolical Preaching Considered,* Iremonger's *Suggestions to the Promoters of Dr. Bell's System of Tuition,* and Horsley's *Translation of the Book of Psalms.* Included under the heading "Religious Intelligence" were accounts and reports of religious organizations and of addresses delivered by various Bishops.

Although the last page of the issue for July, 1817, refers to "our next number," no further issue can be found, nor is any referred to in the different magazines examined. Virgin's belief[5] that there were no more issues after July, 1817, is verified by the facts that the *Christian Journal,* to be mentioned presently, had already (January, 1817) begun to appear from the same press, that the three numbers of the *Christian Register,* for July and December, 1816, and July, 1817, are bound together in an old binding, and that the troubles of How,[6] the editor of the *Register,* were then beginning to brew.

CHRISTIAN JOURNAL AND LITERARY REGISTER

The *Christian Journal and Literary Register* issued its first number on Wednesday, January 22, 1817, in New York "under the inspection" of Bishop Hobart.[7] Even this "inspection" could

[5] Written in his unpublished notes.
[6] How was deposed in 1818.
[7] The *Christian Jour. and Lit. Reg.,* I, No. 1, p. 1. McVickar, *Prof. Yrs. of*

not prevent an occasional blunder. In an account of the death of Bishop Dehon, the number for August 30, 1817, reprinted a newspaper clipping preceded by the remark that it was in "language that will be sympathetically felt by all." The passage was lugubrious, particularly so in the sentence, "Our community is in tears; our Churches are clad in mourning; woman's eye is wet, and man's cheek is pale." Three weeks later, in response to criticism, the *Journal* confessed that some of the sentiments it had printed had been "justly deemed erroneous and censurable"; in excuse for the borrowed material, the *Journal* said that it had been "hastily extracted from a newspaper, without much attention to the precise import of every part of it."

One may judge a little of the nature of the articles generally published in the *Christian Journal and Literary Register* by looking over a sample table of contents:[8]

	Page
Memoirs of the late Right Reverend Thomas Wilson, D. D., Bishop of Sodor and Man	193
Succession of Bishops (contributed, signed "Long Island")	197
Second Annual Report of the New York Protestant Episcopal Sunday School Society	199
Bishop Moore's Address to the Convention of Virginia	206
Remarks on Weekly Prayer (contributed by "Laicus")	209
Brief Obituary of Owen Feltham (contributed by "Indagator")	209
On the Danger of a Fruitless Hearer	210
Psalm 95	211
Proceedings of the Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of Rhode Island	214
Sharpsburg Sunday School	215

Hobart, p. 423, says that Hobart was the sole editor until 1820, when the Rev. B. T. Onderdonk became assistant editor. The issue for Sept., 1819 (front cover), says that Bishop Hobart was the editor, assisted by the Rev. Benjamin T. Onderdonk. The magazine issued 32 octavo pages monthly.

[8] The number for July, 1819.

Address, delivered by the Rev. Mr. Clay, at the laying of the Corner Stone of St. Paul's Church, Sharpsburg . . . 216
Reflections for the 4th of July (signed "Civis Christianus") . 219
College at Worthington, Ohio (by "K") 221
The Practical Influence of the Doctrine of the Cross . . . 222
Convention of Connecticut 223
Thy Will Be Done (a poem) 223
Consecration 223
Hebrew Bible 223
Prospectus of the *Churchman's Recorder and Family Expositor* 223

After fourteen years of uninterrupted existence, the magazine discontinued publication. Those in charge were not weary, nor was the subscription list falling off; the plain truth was that patrons did not remit promptly enough to keep the periodical out of debt. The final words of the *Journal* expressed thanks to those who had met their obligations punctually, and hope that the delinquent subscribers would pay their debts.[9]

THE SUNDAY VISITANT

On January 3, 1818, appeared in Charleston, South Carolina, the first number of the *Sunday Visitant; or Weekly Repository of Christian Knowledge*. This was a little paper, four small folio pages each issue, edited by the Rev. Andrew Fowler. It was designed to be read on Sundays, and was "particularly calculated for the use of young persons."[10] These purposes made the periodical somewhat different from those that have been described; its pages contained many explanations of Biblical passages and of Prayer Book and Church principles. It was not precisely a children's magazine, however, for most of its material was too advanced for a child's comprehension. Anyway, the great majority of children who would most need the instruc-

[9] *Christian Jour. and Lit. Reg.*, XIV, No. 12, p. 380.
[10] The *Sunday Visitant*, I, No. 1, p. 1. The price was $2.50 a year.

tion given in the columns of the *Visitant* had not yet had opportunity to learn to read well. Probably Fowler used the term "young persons" in a general way to express his hope of reaching more than the elderly and the sedate Church members. The *Visitant* existed at least two years.[11]

THE WATCHMAN

A frankly militant publication appeared in March, 1819, at New Haven, with the significant name, *The Watchman*. Pamphlets hostile to the Episcopal Church had been issued, this little magazine complained, and it was the *Watchman's* intention to "turn these weapons of assault back" upon the adversaries. In the first (and probably the only) issue, the *Watchman* carried out this aggressive purpose under the titles "A gross Deception Exposed," "Presbyterian Ordination Doubtful," and "New England Congregational Ordinations." The paper was to be published "in occasional numbers . . . as occasion may require." Ten issues would constitute a volume. Communications were to be addressed to John Babcock and [name torn off].[12] No trace of any issue after the first has appeared, and it seems likely that, since there were further "occasions" for such controversies as the *Watchman* entered, the little publication ceased because of lack of patronage, or perhaps because in some way its backers became convinced that no real good could result from such open and systematic controversy.

WASHINGTON THEOLOGICAL REPERTORY

In August, 1819, a monthly journal appeared in Washington, with the somewhat ponderous title, *The Washington Theologi-*

[11] No. 52, of the second volume, dated Dec. 25, 1819, is the latest issue of the *Visitant* discovered; it says nothing about ceasing publication.

[12] The *Watchman*, I, No. 1, p. 1. The issue was 24 pp., 12mo. It cost eight cents.

cal Repertory, which three years later was increased by the addition of "*and Churchman's Guide.*" Conscious of the fact that the Protestant Episcopal Church was far behind other communions in disseminating the "principles of religion and piety," the editors hoped that members of the various religious bodies would find in their columns something to edify but nothing to offend.[13] Volume IV (August, 1822) began with the promise of articles by nineteen clergymen from Virginia, from Maryland, and from Philadelphia and New York. Any profits were to go to the *Education Society,* which aided young men studying for the ministry.[14] Beginning with Volume V (August, 1823) the Rev. William Hawley was editor-in-chief, assisted by a number of the clergy. There were three departments in each number, Theological, Reviews and Religious Intelligence. Later the second department was changed to "Miscellaneous." On this plan the magazine continued for several years. In 1828, a new series of the periodical began. At the end of the year 1830 the *Repertory* bade farewell to its readers and thereafter was merged with the *Philadelphia Recorder.*[15]

EPISCOPAL MAGAZINE

In January, 1820, appeared the first number of the *Episcopal Magazine,* published in Philadelphia. It lasted just two years. As a parting shot, in the issue of December, 1821, the editors told of their accumulated debt of twelve hundred dollars and reminded those who had not paid their subscriptions that the failure of the periodical must be "attributed entirely to them."

[13] *Wash. Theol. Rep.,* I, No. 1, pp. 1, 2. The editors were the Rev. Messrs. Wm. Hawley, Wm. H. Wilmer, Oliver Norris and Reuel Keith, assisted by other members of the Church. The magazine came out monthly, 32 pp., octavo. It cost $2 a year.

[14] *Ibid.,* IV, No. 1, pp. 1-3. At this time, too, the words "and Churchman's Guide" were added to the original title.

[15] *Phil. Rec.,* Mar. 5, 1831, p. 194, prints the valedictory address from the *Wash. Theol. Rep.* for Dec., 1830, which declares that issue to be the last.

A random selection of a table of contents produces that of number eight of the second year:

A Commentary on Certain Passages of the New Testament (continued).

A Review of Southey's Life of Wesley (continued).

On the Degree of Novelty suitable to the Eloquence of the Pulpit (contributed by C. H. W.).

A Curious Historical Anecdote.

An Abridgment of Bishop Burnet's History of the Reformation (by C. H. W.).

The Temple of Ipsambul (from the *Quarterly Review*).

An Anecdote about the quick conversion of a man by his two daughters, themselves recently moved by a revival of religion (from the *Christian Herald*).

Extracts from a French Publication on Education (three short paragraphs about the increasing number of schools in France).

Extracts from a Letter from Corfu (also about schools,—in Greece).

A brief discourse (two short paragraphs) on the formation of a *Bible Society* in South Africa.

Extracts from a letter from a German to the Secretary of *the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews.*

Three short notes of general Church interest.

CHURCHMAN'S REPOSITORY FOR THE EASTERN DIOCESS

Meanwhile the *Churchman's Repository for the Eastern Diocess,* started by "a few persons," had issued its first number from Newburyport, Massachusetts, in July, 1820, after which it appeared monthly, thirty-two pages, octavo. The magazine promised to keep the spirit of "love toward other sects" without any "angry and fierce disputation"; it hoped, furthermore, that "amusing speculations will sometimes find their way into our work."[16] This periodical lasted only until the end of the calen-

[16] *Churchman's Rep. for East. Dioc.,* I, No. 1, pp. 3, 4; No. 2, p. 35.

dar year, when it yielded its identity to the *Gospel Advocate*.[17] It had been edited by the Rev. James Morss, of Newburyport; the Rev. Asa Eaton, of Boston; the Rev. Charles Burroughs, of Portsmouth; and the Rev. Thomas Carlisle, of Salem.[18]

GOSPEL ADVOCATE

The *Gospel Advocate* started with the issue for January, 1821, and appeared monthly, thirty-two octavo pages,—at first from Newburyport, Massachusetts, and then from Boston. It was "conducted by a society of gentlemen"[19] who published much theological matter and a considerably smaller amount of Church news. The editors were profoundly disappointed in their hope for literary contributions from the Eastern Diocese. Occasional writings came in from New York, Pennsylvania, and even from North Carolina, but in the home field only Massachusetts and Connecticut took any active interest in filling the columns; Connecticut's contributions were "occasional," while by far the greatest support came, as was no doubt natural, from Massachusetts. For the first two years, the expense of issuing the magazine far exceeded the income from it, but then the tide turned, so that in the year 1824 the *Advocate* paid for itself.[20] However, the fortunes of Church magazines were precarious, and these publications demanded much physical and mental toil. The *Advocate* ceased at the end of the year 1826, and turned its subscription lists over to the *Episcopal Watchman*.[21]

CHURCH RECORD

The year 1822 saw the revival of Church journalism in Philadelphia; on June 22 the first number of the *Church Record*

[17] *Churchman's Rep. for East. Dioc.*, I, bound, title-page.
[18] *Episc. Magazine*, Sept., 1820, p. 289.
[19] Title-pages to the bound volumes of the *Advocate*.
[20] *Gosp. Advocate*, V, No. 1, p. 1.
[21] *Ibid.*, VI, No. 12, p. 490.

appeared. This was a little paper, eight octavo pages, which came out weekly until the issue for October 19; with that number it began to appear every other Saturday, sixteen pages. The price was a dollar a year. The little magazine was decidedly missionary in its aim, emphasizing the news of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Episcopal Church.[22] It did not continue long, however, for in April, 1823, it was superseded by the *Philadelphia Recorder*.

PHILADELPHIA RECORDER

The *Philadelphia Recorder* made its appearance on April 5, 1823. At first the editorial work was in charge of a committee, but on January 17, 1824, the Rev. E. R. Lippitt became the editor.[23] In the autumn the Rev. Gregory T. Bedell succeeded him. Bedell assured his readers that he would not disparage the ministry and worship of other Christian bodies, remarking that "if he expects to meet with his brethren of other denominations in heaven, he sees no reason to avoid them on earth."[24]

By March, 1827, the *Recorder* had twelve hundred subscribers, nearly twice as many as there were when Bedell took up the work. At this time the paper slightly increased the size of its page and added a Sunday School Department. In the midst of this prosperity, however, Bedell's poor health compelled him to resign.[25] The issue for October 4, 1828, appeared with the name of the Rev. Benjamin B. Smith on it as editor. During his time the *Episcopal Education Society* took over the responsibility of

[22] At first the paper was conducted by Messrs. Kemper, Boyd, Montgomery, Allen, Bedell, DuPuy and DeLancey; beginning Aug. 17 (Vol. I, No. 9) it was managed by "an association of clergymen" (*cf.* first pages of the different issues).

[23] Allen, *Memoir of B. Allen*, pp. 300-303. The *Recorder* appeared every Saturday morning, four folio pages, at $3 a year.

[24] *Phil. Rec.*, IV, No. 1, pp. 1, 2. Bedell received no remuneration, and he reduced the price of the *Recorder* to $2.50 a year.

[25] *Phil. Rec.*, Mar. 31, 1827, p. 2; Apr. 21, 1827, p. 13; Sept. 27, 1828, p. 107.

the *Recorder*.[26] He was succeeded by the Rev. George A. Smith, whose first issue was that for January 15, 1831. With the beginning of a new volume (IX, No. 1, April 2, 1831) the periodical became the *Episcopal Recorder*.[27] The change of name was made for two reasons. In the first place, "Philadelphia" was too local a name; the circulation of the paper, instead of being confined to Pennsylvania, had extended to Canada and to the far South. In the second place, there was need of a word to show the religious character of the publication. This was particularly necessary now that the *Washington Theological Repertory* had been taken over by the *Recorder*.[28]

EPISCOPAL RECORDER

The *Episcopal Recorder* continued, with the Rev. George A. Smith as editor, and without change of size, publisher or price. Its first issue was marked Volume IX, Number 1, thus continuing the numbering of the *Philadelphia Recorder*. The *Recorder* was long an evangelical paper,[29] and evidently a bugbear to the High Church party.[30] That word "party" is used advisedly, for party spirit was rife in those days, as may be seen by a study of the Church papers of Philadelphia alone. Opposed to the low churchmanship of the *Recorder* was the *Church Register*, afterward changed to the *Protestant Episcopalian and Church Register*. This last paper frankly stated its intention to present strong views on the Church, believing that peace was sometimes purchased at too great a price. When Benjamin Allen started the *Christian Warrior* in Philadelphia (in January, 1828) he

[26] Tyng, *Life of S. H. Tyng*, p. 119, says this was done in 1829.
[27] *Episc. Recorder*, IX, No. 1 (Apr. 2, 1831), p. 1.
[28] *Phil. Recorder*, VIII, No. 52, p. 207.
[29] Tyng, *Life of S. H. Tyng*, p. 119, refers to it as "for so long a period the representative paper of the Evangelical School in the Episcopal Church."
[30] For records of conflicts of views, *cf.* Hopkins, *Life of J. H. Hopkins*, pp. 86, 121, 284; Howe, *Life of Alonzo Potter*, pp. 133, 263, 264; Walker, *Life of Wm. Sparrow*, p. 152.

was roundly censured for his militant title, which he soon changed to *The Christian Magazine.*[31]

GOSPEL MESSENGER AND SOUTHERN EPISCOPAL REGISTER

The *Gospel Messenger and Southern Episcopal Register,* published in Charleston, South Carolina, the initial number of which was for January, 1824, was the "first work of the kind published in the Southern States, by members of the Episcopal Church."[32] It was edited gratuitously by "a society of Gentlemen," who would neither "impugn the great and fundamental principles" of the Episcopal Church nor be "disrespectful to the religious opinions of any denomination." Concerning possible "collision of opinion," they said, "we shall never seek it for its own sake."[33]

For an idea of the kind of material published in the *Messenger,* we may turn to the contents of one of the issues, chosen at random; that for June, 1832, contains the following, in order:

Sermon on "I was glad when they said unto me, 'we will go into the House of the Lord,' " by a Layman (nearly seventy years old).
"The Revised Canons," an article signed "Hooker."
"Present Wants of the Church," by "Heber."
"Constitution and Canons of the P. E. Church."
"On Episcopal Resignations."

[31] *Cf. infra,* pp. 290, 291. The *Gospel Messenger* (Auburn) for Jan. 19, 1828, p. 4, called it "unbecoming" to be always "showing fight" in this way. Allen was a militant Low Churchman.

[32] So stated in the preface to the first volume, bound. The *Sunday Visitant,* which had been started in Charleston in 1818, was of a different "kind." The *Messenger* appeared monthly, 32 pages, octavo, at $3 a year. Like other magazines, it had its financial troubles (*cf.* issues of Jan., 1827, p. 1, and of Mar., 1830, p. 88).

[33] *Gosp. Mess. and So. Episc. Reg.,* I, No. 1, pp. 1-3.

"Efficacy and Success of Religion not Spontaneous," from *Theol. Quart. Rev. of Dr. Chalmers on Endowments.*

"The Times," taken from *The Churchman.*

"On Protracted Meetings," from the *Auburn Gosp. Mess.*

"On Improving Theology," copied from the same source.

"On Repeating Aloud the Responses of the Liturgy," from the *Christian Guardian.*

"Temperance," a letter by William Wirt.

"List of Books Recommended to Theological Students by the Bishop of London."

"Hymn to the Holy Spirit" (contributed).

Two Poems, one on "Bishop Ken," and the other, "The Church Catechism Versified."

"Religious Intelligence," under which general head were paragraphs about *A Lecture by Chief Justice Pinckney, Confirmation at Beaufort and St. Helena Island, The Society for the Advancement of Christianity in South Carolina, General Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church,* and *Sunday School Union.*

"New Publications," under which head there were reviews of *Divine Songs,* etc., by J. Watts; *Statement of the Case of Bishop Provoost;* and *Theological Common Place Book.*

"Obituary Notices."

"Protestant Episcopal Society for the Advancement of Christianity in South Carolina" (Report of).

"Episcopal Acts" (Ordinations).

"Calendar" for June.

"Erratum."

This southern *Gospel Messenger* must not be confused with the *Gospel Messenger* published in Auburn, and later in Utica, New York, which is soon to be described. Both periodicals continued for a good many years, the South Carolina one as a monthly magazine and the New York periodical as a weekly sheet which looked like a small newspaper.

CHURCH REGISTER

In Philadelphia, the first number of the *Church Register* appeared under date of January 7, 1826.[34] Edited by the Rev. George Weller, "late Rector of St. Stephen's parish, Maryland," it was "devoted to the interests of Religion in the Protestant Episcopal Church."[35] At the end of 1828, when the third volume was finished, Weller relinquished the editorial chair.[36] His place was taken jointly by the Rev. Messrs. DeLancey, Kemper, Meade, Montgomery and Rutledge. The magazine announced the intention of upholding the *General Theological Seminary,* the *Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society,* the *General Protestant Episcopal Sunday School Union,* and the *Society for the Advancement of Christianity in Pennsylvania.*[37] Thus the *Register* continued for just a year longer; it ended with the close of the year 1829, when it was succeeded by the *Protestant Episcopalian and Church Register.*[38]

EPISCOPAL REGISTER

At the beginning of the year 1826 the *Episcopal Register* was born, in Middlebury, Vermont. Its aim was "to place a monthly collection of religious matter, consecrated to the service of Episcopacy, and the gospel, within the reach of every one, who feels any interest in the progressive improvement, and dissemination, of both, or either of these causes."[39] The price, one dollar a year, was consistent with the aim of putting

[34] *Church Reg.,* I, No. 1, p. 1. It was eight quarto pages weekly, at $2.50 a year.

[35] *Church Reg.,* I, bound, title-page. The agent and the printer of the paper were, respectively, Judah Dobson, 108 Chestnut Street, and Jesper Harding, 36 Carter's Alley.

[36] *Ibid.,* III, No. 52 (Dec. 27, 1828), p. 411.

[37] *Ibid.,* IV, No. 1 (Jan. 3, 1829), p. 7.

[38] *Protestant Episc. and Church Reg.,* I, No. 1, p. 1 (introductory address).

[39] *Episc. Reg.,* I, No. 1, p. 1. The *Register* was monthly, 16 octavo pages. The printer was J. W. Copeland, Middlebury.

the magazine within reach of all, but since any profits were to go to the *State Missionary Society,* that organization must have had to look elsewhere for substantial resources. Communications for publication were to be sent to the Rev. B. B. Smith, Middlebury, who before his removal to Philadelphia, in 1828, was the editor. One plan of the *Register* was to issue "extras," which enabled it to circulate tracts printed therein. An advertisement shows that it had several hundred of its first "extra" on hand, for sale at fifty cents a dozen, or four dollars a hundred.[40]

In introducing the *Register* to the public, the editor alluded to Vermont as being somewhat remote and in need of Church information; it is remarkable that he was able to keep that idea in mind, instead of yielding, as he might easily have done, to the temptation to fill his columns with petty local affairs. One issue,[41] chosen entirely at random, contains the following material: a review of a sermon by the Rev. G. Griswold on "Preaching the Cross"; answers to objections to forms of prayer; "Socinian Confessions"; a short poem (16 lines) on "Hope"; an article about the Moravian Church; a report of a quarterly missionary meeting in Boston; under the topic of New Churches, reference to six new churches in different places; an article signed "Palladium," giving an account of the consecration of the Episcopal Church in Saco, Maine; an article about the court decision with reference to lands in Berlin, Vermont, claimed by the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts;* a clipping from the *Episcopal Watchman* about the *General Protestant Episcopal Sunday School Union;* and, filling the last page, an article about lands in Canada devoted to the support of the Protestant clergy.

Thus the *Episcopal Register* continued until the close of the year 1829, when a financial crisis put an end to its existence.

[40] *Episc. Reg.,* I, No. 1, p. 16; No. 3, p. 48; II, No. 1, p. 16.
[41] Vol. III, No. 2 (Feb., 1828).

The last thing printed in the last number, that for December, 1829, was a note "to Patrons," in which there was reference to delay in publishing this December number; the excuse was "sickness, and other circumstances, utterly beyond our control." The note continues, intentionally indicating what those other circumstances were: "The affairs of the paper are in such a state at present that unless we can surely rely upon very prompt and vigorous assistance from the clergy of the diocese, we fear it must be altogether abandoned." The failure of the magazine to appear again shows that this editorial apprehension was well grounded.

GOSPEL MESSENGER

The *Gospel Messenger* began publication in Auburn, New York, on Saturday, January 20, 1827. This name, "Gospel Messenger," had already been adopted by the *Gospel Messenger and Southern Episcopal Register,* which had been published since January, 1824, in Charleston, South Carolina. This southern periodical was not willing to have the new magazine use the first part of its title, but was good-natured about it, as the following passage will show:

> How far it is expedient that two periodicals should have the same name; and wherein consists the difficulty of finding a new name, we leave others to determine, only remarking that the senior *Gospel Messenger* is now in its fourth year.[42]

The editor and proprietor of this new *Gospel Messenger* was the Rev. John C. Rudd,[43] who has been mentioned before as Rector and private schoolmaster in Elizabethtown, New Jersey, and editor of the *Churchman's Magazine.* The *Messenger* promised to be "devoted to the promotion of truth, and prac-

[42] The *Gosp. Mess. and So. Episc. Reg.*, Apr., 1827, p. 128.

[43] *Gosp. Mess.*, I, No. 1, p. 4. Rudd's *Messenger* appeared every Saturday, four folio pages, at $1.50 a year.

tical holiness of life . . . regard will be had to the wants of the members of the Protestant Episcopal Church in this portion of the country, and reference will be maintained to those views of Christian Doctrine which are sustained in the Articles, Homilies and Liturgy of this Church. . . . We shall not hesitate to defend ourselves and the principles of the Communion to which we belong, when they are made the subject of attack." These and other expressions of similar purport appear on the first page of the first number, at the end of which is printed Mr. Rudd's name. Then follows a proposed constitution of a *Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in Western New York,* the significant part of which is the second article, providing for a weekly paper under the auspices of the Society. Beginning with the number for May 19, the paper appeared "under the patronage" of that organization.[44]

This periodical maintained a steady course for many years. In 1835 Mr. Rudd removed to Utica, from which town the *Messenger* continued to appear. Naturally much of its material was local, but it was so far from being provincial in its spirit and make-up, and it was such an efficient piece of Church journalism, that it commanded respect and received the compliment of being quoted often by other Church periodicals.

EPISCOPAL WATCHMAN

In March, 1827, the *Episcopal Watchman* replaced the *Churchman's Magazine* and the *Gospel Advocate.*[45] This new periodical had been instigated by the clergy of the Diocese of Connecticut.[46] Its prospectus[45] announced it as a weekly publi-

[44] *Gosp. Mess.,* I, No. 19, p. 72, and also thus advertised in succeeding issues. The Constitution of the Society, the second article of which provided for the maintenance of a weekly paper, was adopted May 9, 1827 (*Gosp. Mess.,* I, No. 19, p. 75).

[45] *Episc. Watchman,* I, No. 1, p. 1. The *Watchman* was eight quarto pages weekly at $2 a year.

[46] *Jour., Conn.,* 1830, p. 50.

cation, appearing simultaneously in Hartford, Middletown, New Haven and Boston. No advertisements were to be printed except those referring to religious and literary subjects. Its three departments were, Theological, Literary and Scientific, and Miscellaneous, which last included politics and current events.

The first number of the *Episcopal Watchman* was that for March 26, 1827. Although the Bishop had the direction of the editorial work,[45] he left these matters in the hands of two young clergymen, George W. Doane and William Croswell, who kept the joint position for two years.[47] Then the Rev. Palmer Dyer edited the *Watchman* for a year,[48] and, after a delay of two months, "an inexperienced layman" served a full year.[49] His successor was the Rev. Samuel Fuller, Jr., who changed the size of the *Watchman* to folio, four pages, and issued it on Tuesdays instead of Saturdays. After a year on this plan it appeared on Saturdays again. On February 23, 1833, the Rev. Lucius M. Purdy issued his first number as editor. The periodical was in a bad state financially and he resigned after a short time. With the end of the *Watchman* in sight, the Rev. E. E. Beardsley edited it. About the first of November it was absorbed by the *Churchman,* which begged for the affection of former patrons of the *Watchman.*[50] This appeal could not have been in vain, for the *Watchman* must have gained some ardent following through carrying out its announced purposes,—"the increase of useful knowledge, the promotion of virtue and the dissemination of pure and undefiled religion."[51]

[47] Croswell, *Memoir of H. Croswell,* pp. 34, 35, 67.
[48] *Jour., Conn.,* 1820, p. 12.
[49] *Episc. Watchman,* May 15, 1830, p. 5; May 7, 1831, p. 409.
[50] The *Churchman,* Nov. 9, 1833, p. 550.
[51] *Episc. Watchman,* I, No. 1, p. 1.

EPISCOPAL SUNDAY SCHOOL MAGAZINE

In the summer of 1827 the Rev. Lewis P. Bayard issued from Geneva, New York, the first number of the *Episcopal Sunday School Magazine*, a publication of eight pages designed to promote the general interests suggested by the title. Its life seems to have been very short,[52] but it deserves our attention because its appearance antedates by a year and a half that of the *Family Visiter and Sunday School Magazine*, published by the *General Protestant Episcopal Sunday School Union* in New York City.

CHRISTIAN WARRIOR

In January, 1828, the Rev. Benjamin Allen started another magazine in Philadelphia, the *Christian Warrior*. Allen soon bought up the subscription list of the American republication of the *London Christian Review and Clerical Magazine*, and united that enterprise with the *Warrior*. Upon reprinting the *Review* material in his own paper, he changed the name to the

CHRISTIAN MAGAZINE

In May there was the further change to monthly issues of thirty-two pages, but the magazine did not achieve success and lasted only until the close of the first volume.[53] Begun as a militant sheet,[54] this periodical had soon changed its nature and its name and then its size. There is no knowing what the publication would have amounted to if Allen had lived longer.

[52] Only this first issue has come to light, and no further reference to it has appeared in the materials searched.

[53] Allen, *Memoir of B. Allen*, pp. 362-364. Beginning the second of January, 1828, the *Warrior* came out weekly, 16 pp., octavo, at $2 a year.

[54] The *Gosp. Mess.* (Auburn), Jan. 19, 1828, p. 4, regrets that the magazine "is an open declaration of war with Bishop Hobart and the High Church, to be waged weekly with virulent constancy." The second number of the *Warrior* contains Allen's third open letter to Hobart.

EPISCOPAL
Sunday School Magazine.

"*Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not; for of such is the kingdom of God. Verily I say unto you, whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child, he shall not enter therein.*"—Mark x. 14, 15.

VOL. I.] GENEVA, SATURDAY, JULY 28, 1827. [No. 1.

PROSPECTUS OF THIS WORK.

At a period like the present, when the christian world is alive to the interests of that religion which has brought life and immortality as the glad tidings of its recommendation to our ruined race, indifference to these sacred concerns becomes a mark of reproach, as well to him who loves his country as to him who loves his God.

The education of youth in the religion of the Bible must be considered as a work of primary importance, whether we look only to the station they are to fill as useful citizens, or to the more important destination for eternity which they are clearly taught in these sacred oracles.

It has occurred to the Editor of this humble periodical, that he could by no method so well serve the interests of religion and the church, as by the frequent exhibition of such intelligence concerning *Sunday Schools* as might tend to excite in the public mind an increased attention to this great and becoming duty of christians.

To this end he proposes to issue, semi-monthly, (on Saturdays,) a Work comprising eight octavo pages, a specimen of which is afforded in the present number. One department will be devoted to original matter; a second to communications of correspondents, and a third to articles selected from distant publications containing such facts or anecdotes as may be useful to be read in Sunday Schools, illustrating their beneficial effects.

He has adopted the semi-monthly form from a belief that a more lively interest may be secured by this method than any other; and in regard to the size of the pamphlet, it is sufficient to observe, that other avocations would not conveniently admit that it should engross much of his time. A small impression only will be issued of the first numbers, until a subscription list shall be afforded of sufficient size to extend its circulation.

The Clergy of the Protestant Episcopal Church are respectfully invited to encourage this humble effort, and to communicate such information as will be suitable for its columns.

"PRO ECCLESIA," is the sentiment which the Editor adopts—the sentiment of Whitgift, and which appears upon the signet of our own respected diocesan.

He hopes, that with whatever more ability this work might be conducted by others of his brethren, this cup of cold water in the name of a disciple may not be unacceptable or unblest in its influence upon the interests of religion and the church.

Geneva, 28th July, 1827.

INTELLIGENCE.

Extracts from the thirteenth Annual Report of the Superintendent of Christ Church Sunday School, Boston.

NUMBER OF SCHOLARS.—In the last report, the whole number of scholars who had been admitted was stated to be 1142 white, and 5 colored children, of whom 51 boys, 76 girls and 5 Africans, making 132 scholars, then belonged to the school, and about 100 usually attended. Within the preceding year, 61 new scholars were admitted, and 20 old ones returned, making 90 added in that year. 86 left during the same period.

Reproduction of the front page of Lewis P. Bayard's *Episcopal Sunday School Magazine*, issued from Geneva, New York, in the summer of 1827.

He went to Europe for his health, sailing on March 20, 1828, and died at sea, on his way home, on January 13, 1829.[55]

QUARTERLY PAPERS; MISSIONARY PAPER; PERIODICAL PAPER; MISSIONARY RECORD

In March, 1828, the Board of Missions began to publish information in a periodical pamphlet called *Quarterly Papers of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church.* Numbers for March, June, September and December, 1828, and for July, 1829, appeared; then there was a gap until March, 1830, when the Society's *Missionary Paper,* numbered and paged continuously with these five *Quarterly Papers,* continued the work of spreading missionary news. After the issues for June and September, there was another interruption. In March, 1831, began the society's third attempt at systematic publication of news of mission work; in that month the *Periodical Paper* came out. Under this name and with a new serial numbering, nine issues appeared before the end of the year 1832. In January, 1833, and thereafter until 1836, the *Missionary Record* was the society's monthly organ of communication. It cost a dollar a year, sixteen octavo pages each issue. In January, 1836, the *Record* was replaced by the *Spirit of Missions,* which has continued on to the present (1924) as the official magazine of the Board of Missions.[56]

PROTESTANT EPISCOPALIAN AND CHURCH REGISTER

The first number of the *Protestant Episcopalian and Church Register,* published monthly in Philadelphia in succession to

[55] Allen, *op. cit.,* pp. 369, 379, 508.

[56] These four series of missionary publications were all octavo in size. The issues varied from eight to twenty-four pages. They were printed in Philadelphia. The *Church Record,* which had been published in Philadelphia for nine months beginning June 22, 1822, had been largely missionary in its purpose, and had taken on itself the task of publishing detailed news of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, but it seems to have been unofficial.

the *Church Register,* was that for January, 1830. The "association of Clergymen" who edited the magazine promised some strong views on the Church; they intended to express themselves "freely and fearlessly . . . upon points of difference important in *our* view." They believed that "peace is purchased at too dear a rate when the price for it is surrender of principle."[57] The very first issue contains an article, signed "Truth," written in favor of controversy as a means of arriving at truth. As a High Church organ the magazine moved, as one of its contemporaries wrote, "in an orbit by itself," unadapted to the taste of superficial readers.[58] At the end of the year 1838 the *Protestant Episcopalian and Church Register* was succeeded by the *Banner of the Cross.*

GAMBIER OBSERVER

While Church magazines were thus multiplying in different parts of the country, the *Gambier Observer* appeared in Ohio, in 1830,[59] under the editorial charge of Professor William Sparrow; for three years, beginning in 1831, Professor M. T. C. Wing was the editor.[60] Then the plant must have suffered a conflagration, for in the autumn of 1834, the *Gambier Observer* was reported as rising "from its ashes with fresh beauty."[61] Beginning with the issue for October 4, it was published by the Western Protestant Episcopal Press at Gambier, on a larger

[57] *Prot. Episc. and Ch. Reg.,* I, No. 1, p. 1, 2. It contained 40 octavo pages each month, and cost $2.50 a year. The magazine was hardly started before Jackson Kemper and James Montgomery resigned from the editorial board (*ibid.,* I, No. 3, p. 107). Two years later William Cooper Mead severed his connection with the magazine (*ibid.,* III, No. 11, p. 448). Presumably the resignations were caused by the High Church character of the periodical.

[58] The *Churchman,* June 14, 1834, p. 675.

[59] No issues before Vol. V have come to light. The date of beginning has not been stated in the materials examined. The *Episc. Watchman* for June 19, 1830 (p. 47), acknowledges receipt of the first number of the *Observer,* printed at the Acland Press, Gambier.

[60] Walker, *Life of William Sparrow,* p. 87.

[61] The *Churchman,* Oct. 25, 1834, p. 751.

sheet and with new type. In the editorial work, the Rev. Mr. Wing now had the assistance of the Rev. William Sparrow.[62] In 1837 *"and Western Church Journal"* was added to the name; later on, the magazine became the *Western Episcopal Observer,* and after that, the *Western Episcopalian.*

AMERICAN PULPIT

At the beginning of 1831 a little monthly sermon magazine appeared in Boston, under the title of *The American Pulpit.* There were from twelve to twenty pages an issue, containing one or two sermons by Episcopal ministers and a poem or a brief note or two on religious topics. After finishing out the year, the *Pulpit* removed to New York, where John Moore published it under a new name,—[63]

THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL PULPIT

It continued on the simple plan just noted. At first it promised such prosperity that Mr. Moore offered to give a hundred and fifty dollars a year to the Faculty of the General Theological Seminary for the support of a student there; furthermore, he proposed to double this amount as soon as the patronage of the magazine should warrant the step. However, needy students had to look elsewhere for assistance. In the autumn of 1832 subscribers owed the magazine more than nine hundred dollars, for the payment of which Mr. Moore made a public request. A year later the *Churchman* complained that the *Pulpit* was not doing all the good that it might, for it was not "a fair specimen of the preaching of our Church."[64] The vagueness of the com-

[62] *Gambier Observer,* V, No. 1, pp. 1, 6. The *Observer* was folio in size, eight pages weekly, and cost $2 a year. It was a Diocesan paper.

[63] *Banner of the Church,* Mar. 3, 1832, p. 108.

[64] The *Churchman,* Apr. 28, 1832, p. 231; Oct. 20, 1832, p. 331; Oct. 26, 1833, p. 543. In 1834 the price was raised from $1 to $1.25 a year, but it was reduced again the next year (*cf. P. E. Pulpit,* cover pages for these two years).

plaint leaves us in doubt as to its justice; one may take for granted that the *Pulpit* was doing its best to obtain representative sermons for its columns. Examination of different numbers of the *Pulpit* discloses a wide variety of topics presented by ministers of all types of churchmanship and from all sections of the country.

The *Pulpit* lasted only a few years. It ended in 1836.[65] Sermons were being printed in the different Church magazines, of which by that time there were more than a few.

THE CHURCHMAN

On Saturday, April 26, 1831, the *Churchman* began its long and honorable career as a weekly Church journal. Beneath the title "*The Churchman*" on the first page of each number, was printed, "The Church of the Living God, the Pillar and Ground of the Truth." The object of the *Churchman* was "to disseminate religious intelligence, to elucidate Christian doctrine, and to explain and enforce the principles and precepts of evangelical piety." By the end of the year 1831 there were eleven hundred names on the subscription list. The first editor was the Rev. John W. Curtis, Principal of the Collegiate School on Varick Street; he got the periodical well started and then resigned in order to give his whole attention to his school. In the autumn of 1831 William R. Whittingham and John V. Van Ingen, editor and agent, respectively, of the *Protestant Episcopal Press*, took over the editorial work of the *Churchman*. After a year on this plan, Whittingham felt obliged to give up. Van Ingen continued alone until February, 1833, when sickness compelled him to retire from the position. Fortunately, by this time Whittingham

[65] The *Pulpit* was listed in the *Churchman's Almanac* for 1836, but not in that for 1837. Moore's death on January 6, 1836, undoubtedly was the chief reason for the suspension of the *Pulpit* (*cf. Gosp. Mess.*, Utica, Jan. 16, 1836, p. 207).

was able to step into the breach for a while. On the first of September, 1833, the Rev. Samuel Seabury, "late one of the Principals of the Flushing Institute," became the official editor.[66] He served long and made the periodical a great power in the Church life of his time.

Seabury did not make any striking changes in the paper, unless we regard as such his abolition of the Sunday School column[67] which had been controlled by the Rev. F. H. Cuming, then agent of the *General Protestant Episcopal Sunday School Union*. Seabury put in its place the more comprehensive department of "Education," and kept that under his own control. Before he got accustomed to the rather loose journalism of those days, he resented the brazen appropriation and misuse by other magazines of some of the articles which the *Churchman* believed were its own. In a contemporary journal, one of the *Churchman's* products, which the editor naturally regarded as "a prodigiously clever one," had been "most shamefully eviscerated, and the first and last sentence, to be sure the very cream of the whole, conjoined in one pithy paragraph, and most ungratefully blazoned forth without a word of acknowledgment! And moreover, two other articles were laid at our door in such a mangled state that we were ashamed to own them." After bearing this "as we strive to bear the other miseries of life, without a murmur," the editor wrote the following playful rebuke:

Theft and Murder.—It is rumored that the Editors of the Sunday School Journal have been lately arrested and tried on the charge of kidnapping, aggravated with the crime of murder. The cause came

[66] The *Churchman,* Apr. 2, 1831, p. 7; Aug. 27, 1831, pp. 90, 92; Jan. 7, 1832, p. 167; Oct. 6, 1832, pp. 322, 323; Aug. 31, 1833, p. 511. Wm. Croswell had been asked to serve as editor, but he wanted no "further connection with the periodical press" (Croswell, *Memoir of Wm. Croswell,* pp. 118, 119).

[67] This column had been running about a year. It had been started when the *Sunday School Visiter* suspended publication, in 1832 or early in 1833 (*cf. Seventh An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.,* p. 8).

on in the Court of the Muses, Apollo presiding: when it appeared that the accused had taken by stealth and shamefully maltreated one of the offspring of the Churchman, and after having buried the body under a heap of rubbish, had stuck up the head and feet to the public gaze in a corner of the Sunday School Journal. It further appeared that two other of the lovely progeny of the said parent, after being rightfully transferred to the same premises, had been sadly mutilated, and then exposed in a pillory kept for such purposes. As the crime, however, did not appear to have been perpetrated with malice prepense, the culprits were discharged with a reprimand. Counsel for the State Jupiter, and Mercury for the accused.[68]

The fate of the *Churchman* was different from that of the many Church magazines which, after bidding for patronage for a time, either ceased publication or else turned their subscription lists over to some other periodical. The *Churchman* has continued, with varying fortunes and some changes, as were inevitable; today (1924) it is still an active medium of Church news.

BANNER OF THE CHURCH

The *Banner of the Church,* the first issue of which appeared in Boston on Saturday, September 3, 1831, seemed to revive journalistic hope in the New England field, which had already proved to be too barren for several Church magazines. The *Churchman's Magazine,* started in Connecticut in 1804, having been removed to New York and then to New Jersey, where it expired, had been revived again in Connecticut only to pass out of existence in 1827. Meanwhile the *Churchman's Repository for the Eastern Diocess* had started, in July, 1820, at Newburyport, Massachusetts, and at the beginning of the next calendar year had been succeeded by the *Gospel Advocate.* In January, 1826, the *Episcopal Register* had begun to appear monthly at

[68] The *Churchman,* Oct. 26, 1833, p. 543. The *Churchman* came out weekly, four small folio pages. It began at $3 a year, but the price was soon reduced to $2.50.

Middlebury, Vermont, and had lasted just four years. Both the *Churchman's Magazine* and the *Gospel Advocate* had merged their identity in the *Episcopal Watchman,* started in 1827 and issued simultaneously in the three Connecticut cities of Hartford, New Haven and Middletown, and in Boston.

Either the Connecticut cities monopolized the *Watchman* or else the Massachusetts people became dissatisfied with it, for in April, 1831, some of the Massachusetts clergy met with the Bishop to discuss the possibility of starting another Church periodical; in the absence of definite action at this meeting, a few of those most interested, one of whom was the Rev. George W. Doane, took on themselves afterward the task of setting up a "banner" of their own. Hence, the name *"The Banner of the Church."* It had for its motto "Evangelical truth, Apostolic Order." There was no seeking of subscriptions in advance: "if our journal deserves support, it will receive it; and if it does not deserve, it ought not to have it."[69] The *Banner* ended with the issue for November 24, 1832 (Vol. II, No. 7). The very last words printed there were the lines, "To our Friends and Subscribers," announcing the discontinuance of the magazine and the turning over of the subscription list to the *Churchman,* which periodical thereafter would be sent to patrons.[70] The *Episcopal Recorder* presumed that the cause of the *Banner's* suspension was "the removal of Bishop Doane, late one of the editors, to another Diocese."[71] Associated with Doane in the editorial work was his old friend, William Croswell,[72] Rector of the historic Christ Church, Boston.

[69] *Banner of the Church,* I, No. 1, p. 2. The *Banner* appeared weekly, four small folio pages at $1 a year. Probably Hopkins (*Life of Hopkins,* p. 138) is right in crediting Doane with starting it.

[70] The *Banner,* Nov. 24, 1832, p. 26.

[71] *Episc. Recorder,* Dec. 8, 1832, p. 142. George Washington Doane was consecrated Bishop of New Jersey on Oct. 31, 1832.

[72] Croswell, *Memoir of Wm. Croswell,* pp. 89, 117, 118.

THE MISSIONARY

Three periodicals that started at almost the same time were the *Missionary,* in New Jersey; the *Church Advocate,* in Kentucky; and the *Southern Churchman,* in Virginia. The first number of the *Missionary* appeared under date of September 20, 1834, at Burlington, New Jersey, and the second issue on Saturday, November 29. It called itself a "Soldier of the Cross," issued to meet the desire of the clergy of the Diocese, in the hope that it would be acceptable not only in New Jersey, but wherever there was "faith of the Gospel."[73] The *Missionary* proved to be such a financial burden to Bishop Doane[74] that he stopped it at the end of the year 1837.[75]

CHURCH ADVOCATE

The *Church Advocate* appeared fortnightly at Lexington, Kentucky, after the beginning of 1835. It was the private venture of Dr. John E. Cooke, a prominent Kentucky layman who resided in Lexington; in less than a year, he found it too burdensome to continue.[76] In November, 1835, the Rev. Henry

[73] The *Missionary,* I, No. 2, pp. 5, 7. Doane, *Memoir of G. W. Doane,* p. 136, says that the magazine appeared Apr. 20, 1834, but this cannot be right unless there is a misprint in the *Missionary*. After the Nov. 29 issue it came out weekly, four small folio pages, at $1 a year.

[74] Hills, *Hist. of the Church in Burlington, N. J.,* p. 498.

[75] Doane, *Memoir of G. W. Doane,* pp. 136, 143. Doane revived the *Missionary* some years afterward.

[76] Caswall, *Amer. and Amer. Ch.,* p. 229. The *Advocate* was designed to spread the distinctive principles of the Episcopal Church. Caswall (*ibid.,* pp. 231-233) reprints a little poem of seven stanzas which was distributed to the *Advocate* subscribers in Lexington at the end of 1835. The third stanza reads:

"If such be then their doubtful state,
What says the *'little Advocate?'*
'The Church is *all that mighty host,*
In every land, in every coast,
Baptized and taught (through heavenly love)
By those *commissioned* from above,
To spread the tidings of salvation
In *every age* and *every nation.'*"

Caswall, a professor in the new theological seminary at Lexington, became editor, at a salary of three hundred dollars a year. This arrangement was of short duration, however, for the paper soon became involved in financial difficulties and, at the end of 1836, suspended publication.[77] It had been a folio sheet, and cost a dollar and a half a year.[78]

SOUTHERN CHURCHMAN

The *Southern Churchman* was issued in Richmond, Virginia, beginning January 2, 1835, edited by the Rev. William F. Lee and printed by James C. Walker.[79] Its prospectus[80] assured that its material would be in accordance with the Protestant Episcopal Church, and that its interests would be southern.[81] There was room for such a paper in the South, it believed, because the circulation of the *Gospel Messenger,* published in Charleston, South Carolina, was confined almost entirely to that state. The judgment of the *Southern Churchman* was sound, for it is still (1924) in active existence.

SOME PROPOSED MAGAZINES

The periodicals which have been described were not the only ones proposed. There was reference, for instance, in 1819, to a forthcoming Baltimore magazine, to be called *The Churchman's*

[77] *Jours., Ky.,* 1836, p. 35; 1837, pp. 70, 85.

[78] Caswall, *op. cit.,* p. 229. The *Gosp. Mess.* (Auburn), IX, No. 4, p. 16, says that the *Advocate* is the same size as the *Gosp. Mess.* No copy of the *Advocate* has come to light, and the Historiographer of the Diocese of Lexington does not know of any (letter to writer, Sept. 26, 1921).

[79] The *Southern Churchman,* I, No. 1, p. 1. It came out weekly, four folio pages, and cost $2.50 a year.

[80] Printed in the *Churchman,* Sept. 27, 1834, p. 735.

[81] The *Gospel Messenger and Southern Episcopal Register,* published in Charleston, objected to the word "southern" because it could not see how a "Southern Churchman is distinct from a Northern and an Eastern, and a Western Churchman," or how this new periodical, issued from Richmond, could represent the entire South (*cf. Gosp. Mess. and So. Episc. Reg.,* Feb., 1835, p. 60).

Recorder and Family Expositor.[82] If this publication appeared at all, the fact was not generally advertised. Another contemplated magazine was the *Protestant,* to be published weekly in New York to expose Roman errors.[83] The *American Christian Observer,* a monthly publication, was to start in Boston at the beginning of the year 1830,[84] but the plan was abandoned.[85] Although the *Protestant* was announced in 1829, it was listed again in 1834 as a new publication, together with the *Anti-Romanist* and the *Protestant Vindicator.*[86] These controversial magazines must have had a more general clientele than the distinctive Church periodicals which have been occupying our attention.

SWORDS'S POCKET ALMANAC

Two Church almanacs came into existence during this period of great expansion. The first, *Swords's Pocket Almanac,* was printed in New York City by T. & J. Swords for the year 1816 and annually thereafter. In this first number we read that "Swords's Pocket Almanack, and Christian's Calendar, makes its appearance at the solicitation of many members of the Episcopal Communion, who have searched in vain among the Almanacks published in this city for one adapted to the particular

[82] The *Christian Jour. and Lit. Reg.,* July, 1819, pp. 223, 224. The announcement is signed Edmund D. Barry and William E. Wyatt. The magazine was to be issued monthly by Joseph Robinson, 32 pages, octavo, at $2 a year.

[83] *Gosp. Mess.,* Dec. 12, 1829, p. 176. No copies of the *Protestant* could be discovered, but the *Churchman* (Sept. 20, 1834, p. 730) mentions it again. It was to cost $2 a year.

[84] *Church Reg.,* Aug. 29, 1829, p. 280; *Gosp. Mess.,* Sept. 19, 1829, p. 128; *Episc. Watchman,* Sept. 12, 1829, p. 208. The publishers were to be Putnam and Hunt; the price was to be $3 a year. It seems to have been a new magazine, not a new plan for reprinting the English *Christian Observer* (*cf. Episc. Watchman,* Mar. 7, 1829, p. 408).

[85] Croswell, *Life of Wm. Croswell,* pp. 73, 74. They wanted Wm. Croswell to edit the paper, but he refused to take up the work. It would have been an interesting experiment, for the periodical announced its intention of paying for all contributions (*cf. Ch. Reg.,* Aug. 29, 1829, p. 280).

[86] The *Churchman,* Sept. 20, 1834, p. 730.

circumstances of their Church." The word "Pocket" suggests the size, 32mo; the issue for 1816 had sixty-four pages, six years later there were seventy-two pages, and by 1829 the little almanac had increased to ninety-six pages. This constant enlargement was due, in part, to the steady growth in the number of clergy and of Church organizations, and, in part, to the added amount of churchly material embodied in the publication.

The issue for 1834 contained a table of eclipses; a list of movable Feasts and Fasts; a monthly calendar with the Church days included in it; the succession of American Bishops; a list of the clergy, by Dioceses; the Archbishops and Bishops of the United Church of England and Ireland; names of members of standing committees of the various Dioceses; the dates of meetings of Diocesan Conventions; the names of the secretaries of these Conventions; directions for persons desiring to be ordained or to become candidates for ordination;[87] a statement of the qualifications for entering the General Theological Seminary; the course of studies prescribed in 1804 by the Bishops; a list of religious, scientific and benevolent institutions of the Church in general and in the Dioceses; and ended with three pages of hymns and one page of practical maxims.

CHURCHMAN'S ALMANAC

The first issue of the other almanac, the *Churchman's Almanac,* was that for the year 1830. In it the publishers, the *Protestant Episcopal Press,* referred to the wide circulation of other almanacs, some of which had "given currency to principles hostile to the interests of piety and virtue," and stated that this new handbook would further "the interests of religion, through the medium of the pure doctrine and order of the Protestant Episcopal Church." For some reason it included tables of postage rates, tides, court sessions and the rising and setting of the sun, and omitted lists of standing committees and

[87] These directions were the various Church canons on the subject, reprinted.

convention dates and secretaries, and matters concerning theological education. Each month of its calendar was on a separate page, at the top of which were a few lines of "Ecclesiastical Chronology" and some "Useful Remarks." In a column headed "Remarkable Days," appeared saints' days and festivals, opposite their dates.

After two years, as the issue for 1832 announced, the almanac was "recast, with a view to brevity, simplicity and general usefulness." A reproduction of the third page of this issue, the first in the revised form, appears opposite.

CHILDREN'S MAGAZINES

Two magazines for children were in existence at the opening of the year 1835, the *Children's Magazine* and the *Children's Guide*. The former was published, beginning in January, 1829, by the *General Protestant Episcopal Sunday School Union*, in New York City; it has already been described under the head of that society's publications. For a good many years it had a relatively large circulation. On the other hand, the *Children's Guide*, issued in Portland, Maine, ended its brief career in the summer of 1835.[88] In the absence of further information about this magazine we may conclude that its place of publication was too remote to allow much of a circulation outside of New England,—and there a magazine conducted on the plane of childhood experience was contrary to ingrained beliefs that children were miniature adults and had no life of their own that could not be adjusted to adult standards. The *Sunday Visitant* started in Charleston, South Carolina, in January, 1818, has been mentioned as a weekly paper intended chiefly for "young persons," but it was not sufficiently adapted to boys and girls to be listed as a children's magazine.

[88] *Gosp. Mess.* (Auburn), June 27, 1835, p. 83. The *Guide* seems to have been started in the autumn of 1834. The *Churchman*, Jan. 17, 1835, p. 799, acknowledges the issue of Nov. 29, 1834, as the first one received.

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POST OFFICES AND POSTAGE.

Post Offices in	1790	75:	Extent of Post Roads	1,875	miles.
do	1800	903:	do do	20,817	„
do	1810 . . .	2,300:	do do	36,406	„
do	1820 . . .	4,500:	do do	72,492	„
do	1829 . . .	8,004:	do do	115,000	„

RATES OF POSTAGE.

For *single* LETTERS if carried not exceeding 30 miles . . . . . 6 cents.
do over 30 and not over 80 miles 10
do over 80 and not over 150 miles 12½
do over 150 and not over 400 miles 18¾
do over 400 miles 25

For *double* letters, double those rates—for *triple* letters, triple—for *packets* composed of *four* or more pieces of paper, and weighing *one ounce, quadruple*, and in that proportion for greater weights.

Ship letters, if delivered at the office where the vessel arrives, 6 cents—if conveyed by post, in addition to the land postage, 2 cents.

NEWSPAPERS carried not over 100 miles, or any distance within the state where they are printed, 1 cent each—over 100 miles, and out of the state where they are printed, 1½ cents each.

PERIODICAL MAGAZINES and PAMPHLETS, carried not over 50 miles, 1 cent *per sheet*—over 50 and not over 100 miles, 1½ cents *per sheet*—over 100 miles, 2½ cents *per sheet*.

PAMPHLETS NOT PERIODICAL.—Not over 100 miles, 4 cents *per sheet*—over 100 miles, 6 cents *per sheet*.

Every printed pamphlet or magazine, containing more than *twenty-four pages* on a royal sheet, or any sheet of less dimensions, is charged by the sheet; and small pamphlets, printed on a *half* or *quarter sheet* of royal or less size, *half* the amount of postage charged on a full sheet.

The number of sheets in a pamphlet or magazine sent by mail, must be written

Reproduction of page three of the *Churchman's Almanac* for 1832, showing the Table of Contents and the style of the Almanac.

XVII.

MATERIALS OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN THIS PERIOD

A. *SUNDAY SCHOOL LIBRARY BOOKS*

IN dealing with Sunday Schools, on the one hand, and with periodical literature, on the other, we have already described a considerable portion of the materials of religious education of this period. It will be the task of this chapter to give an account of some other materials that have not yet been described.

The first library books recommended by the *General Protestant Episcopal Sunday School Union*, in 1827, were:

"The Raven and the Dove," by Mrs. Sherwood.
"Robert and the Owl," by Mrs. Sherwood.
"The re-captured Negro," by Mrs. Sherwood.
"Conversations on the Liturgy."
"First Day of the Week."
"Last Day of the Week."
"The Week Completed."
"Susan and Esther Hall."
"Gilpin's Monument of Parental Affection."
"Labrador Missionaries."
Mrs. Sherwood's Stories on the Catechism, revised and amended by Bishop Kemp.[1]

As we have seen, most of these were published by the *General Protestant Episcopal Sunday School Union;* certain other early publications of the Union have been listed, and brief descriptions given of "Procrastination," "The Pink Tippet," "The

[1] *First An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.*, pp. 8, 9.

Little Beggars," and a few others.[2] New books were added to the list from time to time, with such titles as:

"The Wealthy Farmers," by Hannah More.[3]

"Faithful Little Girl."[4]

"Mary and Jane," and "Little Tom."[5]

"A Farmer's Narrative of his Conversion," "The Orphan Boy" and "The History of a Pocket Prayer Book."[6]

"The Blind Man and Little George," "The Happiness of being Able to Read," and "Crooked Paths."[7]

"House of the Thief" and "Voice from the Dead."[8]

"The Travelling Beggars," "Edwin, or the Motherless Boy," "A Mother's Conversations with her Daughter," "Mary the Milkmaid" and "The Humble Reformer."[9]

Such books as these were in great demand; no part of the business of the General Union was more successful than "the preparation, publication and sale of Library Books."[10] Day schools were multiplying; the children of the land were learning to read. There were few available libraries, and of course no children's departments in those which did exist. That gave the Sunday School an opportunity to extend its moral influence through its own library books. The consequence was the begin-

[2] *Cf. supra,* pp. 194, 195.

[3] *Second An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.,* p. 14.

[4] *Third An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.,* p. 8. The book was 36 pages, 18mo, $4 per hundred (*Fifth An. Rep.,* p. 111).

[5] *Ibid.,* p. 9. The former was a dialogue on "Behavior in Church"; it was eight pages, 18mo, and cost 75 cents a hundred. The latter was the story of a ploughman's boy; it was 24 pages, 32mo, and cost $2 a hundred (*Fifth An. Rep.,* p. 110).

[6] *Fourth An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.,* p. 13. These were 40, 16 and 96 pages, respectively. "The History of a Pocket Prayer Book" was written by the Rev. Benjamin Dorr, a prominent Episcopal minister of Philadelphia. It proved to be very popular and ran through several editions.

[7] *Fifth An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.,* p. 102.

[8] *Seventh An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.,* p. 15. These were 172 and 16 pages, respectively.

[9] *Ninth An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.,* p. 18.

[10] *Seventh An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.,* pp. 9, 10.

ning of that swollen stream of "goody-goody" Sunday School literature which has not yet entirely subsided. It is justly criticised today, but we must remember that books were very scarce then and that these morally didactic writings were according to the undeveloped taste of the time. Filled with mawkish sentiment and peopled with absurd characters, these books nevertheless aroused the consciences of their youthful readers and fired their zeal to become good men and women.

Approval of the nice lessons conveyed by these materials was not confined to members of the Episcopal Church. Such popular tracts as "The Dairyman's Daughter" and "The Errand Boy" had been taken over and used by other religious bodies, but with the distinctive marks of the Episcopal Church altered to suit the ecclesiastical ideas of the users. The former tract was "shorn" of some of its "most distinguishing excellencies" while passing through "an union press." The nature of these mutilations is indicated by changes made in another tract which told of the conversion of a cobbler. There the parish church and clergyman, curate and clerk all disappeared; the cobbler received his compelling tract through a distributor from a *Sabbath* School, and the worshippers assembled, not with *Prayer* Books, but with *Psalm* books.[11]

The History of a Pocket Prayer Book, by the Rev. Benjamin Dorr, was widely circulated. In it the author has the Prayer Book itself do all the talking in the first person. Two quotations from the narrative will suggest the vivid way in which Mr. Dorr treats his subject: "The Rev. Mr. N——— remained at

[11] *Episc. Watchman,* quoted by *Gosp. Mess.* (S. C.), June, 1827, p. 191, and *Gosp. Mess.* (Auburn), Jan. 24, 1829, p. 7.

The Dairyman's Daughter was by the Rev. Legh Richmond, an English clergyman. The copy examined (N. Y. P. E. Tract Soc., No. 9, 34 pages), dated June 1, 1829, states that up to that time the tract had had a circulation of five million copies, and had been translated into nineteen different languages. The text (p. 11) tells of the young woman's intimate knowledge of her Bible and her Prayer Book.

The Errand Boy was by Mrs. Sherwood.

my master's house several days, and all that time was diligently employed in making preparations for organizing a church." At another time a woman "took me in her hand, and after carelessly turning over my leaves a few times, she laid me down with a deep drawn sigh."[12]

The story tells of the migrations and productive influence of a small Prayer Book which went from the store to a girl who, after using it for some time, lost it. A Congregational minister found it; seeing that its prayers were just what he wanted for the spiritual needs of his congregation, he used them freely, and at last received Episcopal ordination. Then he gave the book to a friend who was about to take up his abode in western New York. This man started to hold services in his own house; the little gatherings increased in size and enthusiasm until, encouraged by occasional visits from itinerant missionaries, the people built a small church. Not long afterward, the same Prayer Book fell into the hands of a minister who was on his way back to southern Ohio. This minister gave it to a young man who came seeking information about the Episcopal Church; both the man and his wife studied it and were confirmed. Then the young man sent it to his mother, who kept a small inn. An Episcopal minister saw it on her table and, finding it of convenient size to carry on his travels, gave her a larger Prayer Book in exchange for it and took it along with him. Some time afterward, in the hurry of departure from a hostelry in New York State, he left the pocket Prayer Book behind. The chambermaid found it and sold it to a young merchant, who through it became interested in the Episcopal Church; after talking with a travelling missionary, he decided to be confirmed. As the nearest Episcopal Church was fourteen miles from his home, he started Episcopal services in a hired room in his own town. The congregations gradually increased; in ten years they had not only built a church and rectory, but also had a flourish-

[12] Dorr, *The History of a Pocket Prayer Book* (1844 ed.), pp. 59, 107.

ing Sunday School. Meanwhile, the Prayer Book had been stolen; the thief, discovered and sentenced, took it to jail with him. After reading it many times and reflecting on its pious teachings, he left the jail with a decided change of heart. On his way to New York, however, he lost the book out of his bundle. A little girl picked it up and brought it home to her grandmother, who gave it to their clergyman when he went South for his health. He died; the book went to another minister, with whom it travelled all over the country and finally settled down on the minister's table in a quiet parish.

B. *RELIGIOUS POETRY*

The Church's dark post-Revolutionary days furnished little poetic inspiration, but with the return of hope came songs of piety. How natural it was to express religious emotion and aspirations in verse is seen in the case of that remarkable schoolmistress, Lydia Huntley (Mrs. Sigourney), who began early to keep a journal, in which she wrote poems composed from time to time as an "adjunct in religious progress." Some of them were published in 1815 in a volume entitled, *Moral Pieces, in Prose and Verse.* In those early years she was not an Episcopalian, but upon becoming Mrs. Sigourney, in 1819, she chose the Episcopal Church because her husband had already done so. In 1827 Mrs. Sigourney published in book form her *Poems,* many of which had already appeared in different periodicals. In 1834 her *Poetry for Children* appeared; it was unable to compete with the popular "Mother Goose" rhymes. That same year her *Select Poems* came out; the volume contained some verses which had appeared in magazines, with an "admixture" of new ones.[13]

Many of the *Moral Pieces* were concerned with such matters as "Vain Pursuits," "The Careless Heart," "Modesty," "Life"

[13] Sigourney, Mrs. L. H., *Letters of Life,* pp. 283 ff., 324, 329, 337.

and "Vanity." This poem on "Vanity" consists of only ten lines, the last four of which are:

> O holy Saviour, hear our prayer,
> Behold our toil, our fruitless care,
> And let thy Spirit crush the foes
> That so disturb our soul's repose.[14]

Most of the *Poems* of 1827 came from later days of riper experience. The first of three stanzas of a poem on "The Sunday School" is:

> Group after group are gathering.—Such as prest
> Once to their Saviour's arms, and gently laid
> Their cherub heads upon his shielding breast,
> Though sterner souls the fond approach forbade;—
> Group after group glide on with noiseless tread
> And round Jehovah's sacred altar meet,
> Where holy thoughts in infant hearts are bred,
> And holy words their ruby lips repeat,
> Oft with a chasten'd glance, in modulation sweet.

Mrs. Sigourney's translation of the eighth Psalm begins:

> Oh Lord our Lord,—how great thy name!
> Whose praise both heaven and earth proclaim!
> Even babes with unaccustom'd tongue
> And infant lips in knowledge young,
> Pour forth the sweet, accordant song,
> And put to shame the impious throng.[15]

One of the *Select Poems* is the "Baptism of the First Born," which ends with the admonition:

> Young Mother! prompt must be thy part
> To stamp instruction on his heart;
> For scarce upon our infant eyes

[14] Huntley, L., *Moral Pieces*, p. 137.
[15] Sigourney, L. H., *Poems*, pp. 146, 185.

The sprinkled dew of baptism dries,
Ere the thick frost of manhood's care,
And strong Death's icy seal is there.[16]

Another early poet of the Church was the Rev. James Wallis Eastburn, who died in 1819, the year after his ordination. With his friend, Robert C. Sands, he wrote *Yamoyden, a Tale of the Wars of King Philip*, a long poem of six cantos. This is not primarily a religious poem, but its clear merit breeds a feeling of regret that Eastburn could not have lived long enough to develop the real poetic ability that shows in it. In council the Sachem turned

To that Great Spirit, who ne'er inhales
Incense from all the odorous gales.

But an old man, Bible in hand, addressing the Christians, recalled the sufferings of the early pilgrim settlers at the hands of the Indians, and observed that

O'er pagan and apostate foes,
The Church of God triumphant rose
Till now, o'er wilds where murder swayed
Her branches cast their sacred shade.[17]

We must credit Eastburn with what seems to be the first American hymn which emanated from within the Episcopal Church. It was written in 1815, and begins:

O Holy, Holy, Holy Lord,
Bright in Thy deeds and in Thy Name,
Forever be Thy Name adored,
Thy glories let the world proclaim.[18]

[16] Sigourney, L. H., *Select Poems*, p. 96.
[17] Eastburn, J. W. (and Sands, R. C.), *Yamoyden*, pp. 28, 107.
[18] Hutchins Hymnal, No. 137. Young Eastburn left other poems in manuscript (*cf.* Sands, Introduction to *Yamoyden*, p. vi), but evidently they were never printed.

Two lifelong poetic friends were George Washington Doane, who became Bishop of New Jersey, and William Croswell. They have already been mentioned as coeditors of the *Episcopal Watchman* and of the *Banner of the Church*. In these two periodicals a number of Croswell's poems first appeared. In 1827, toward the close of Lent, he wrote the following sonnet:

The holy Lenten time is now far spent;
And from the muffled altars, everywhere,
Full many a warning voice has bid prepare
The Lord's highway, and cried aloud, Repent!
And be your hearts, and not your garments, rent;
And turn unto the Lord your God with prayer.
Not, as aforetime, are the contrite sent
To sackcloth, ashes, and the shirt of hair,
Or knotted thong; but consciences laid bare,
And lowly minds, and knees in secret bent,
And fasts in spirit, mark the penitent.
Let not the broken hearted, then, despair;
The sighs of those who "worthily lament"
Their sins reach Heaven, and are accepted there.

In the same year that Croswell wrote this poem, 1827, Keble's deeply devotional poems on the *Christian Year* appeared in England. It was almost a matter of course for Croswell to come under the influence of these memorable verses. He published in the *Watchman* a poem on the Fourth Sunday after Easter, two stanzas, of which the first was:

Creator Spirit! come and bless us;
Let thy love and fear possess us;
With thy graces meek and lowly
Purify our spirits wholly.
Paraclete, the name thou bearest,
Gift of God, the choicest, dearest,
Love, and fire, and fountain living,
Spiritual unction giving,

Shower thy benedictions seven
From thy majesty in heaven.[19]

Doane had turned to poetry quite early. In 1824 he published a volume of poetry, mostly devotional, under the title *Songs by the Way*. His busy subsequent life prevented much further attempt at verse, but he sought the Muse occasionally. In 1875 his son, named after his warm friend, William Croswell, republished these early poems, with some of the later ones added, in a book for which he used the same title, *"Songs by the Way."*

Specimens of Doane's poetry are:

Early Piety

Young and happy, while thou art,
Not a furrow, on thy brow,
Not a sorrow, in thy heart,
Seek the Lord, thy Maker, now!
In its freshness, bring the flower
While the dew, upon it, lies;
In the cool and cloudless hour,
Of the morning sacrifice.

This was the first of three stanzas. The poem was written in September, 1827.

The Dead in Christ

They, who die in Christ, are blest;
Ours, then, be no thought of grieving;
Sweetly, with their God, they rest,
All their toils, and troubles, leaving:
So, be ours, the faith that saveth,
Hope, that every trial, braveth,
Love, that to the end endureth,
And, through Christ, the crown secureth.[20]
(1830)

[19] Croswell, *Memoir of Croswell*, pp. 36, 75.
[20] Doane, *Songs by the Way*, pp. viii, 86, 87, 92, 93.

There were three stanzas of this poem, too; the above is the last.

Another future Bishop whose poetic art glorified the human soul was George Burgess. His first poem, "The Family Burial-Place," written in 1827, was his longest; it was not published until after his death years later.[21] Beginning,

> Dun autumn fades; the moaning breeze is chill;
> The oaks' sere foliage strews the grassy hill;

it leads us on from one grave to another with deep solemnity and pious feeling. "Aspirations," translated in 1831 from the Latin, is an expression in verse of the soul's desire for ultimate peace in the presence of God. "The Martyrdom of St. Peter and St. Paul" is a long poem which Burgess recited before the Rhode Island Alpha of the Phi Beta Kappa Society, on September 3, 1834. The theme had occurred to him some time before this, while he was sojourning in Rome. Filled with classical allusions, and abounding in faith, the poem draws valuable lessons from the days of martyrdom in the Church, closing with the lines:

> Then be thou strong to walk where such have led;
> Arm for the field where worthier bosoms bled;
> And find thy bliss to see amidst thy sphere,
> In life, in death, the closing conquest near.[22]

Burgess continued to write poetry, although not prolifically, but an account of his later verse belongs elsewhere.

It may be surprising to some to read here the name of Clement C. Moore, who has already been mentioned as the compiler of a Hebrew Lexicon, and as the donor of the land for the *General Theological Seminary* in New York City and one of its early professors. His position in the Church was not primarily

[21] Burgess, *Memoir of Burgess*, p. 306.

[22] *Cf.* Burgess, G., *Poems, passim;* the poems alluded to are dated, and the circumstances of the Martyrdom poem are given.

that of a poet, yet it was he who, in 1822, wrote "The Visit of St. Nicholas," that fascinating little poem which begins, "'Twas the night before Christmas, when all through the house."[23] This has long been a Christmas classic for young people, to say nothing of the many adults who have secretly enjoyed it when reading it to the children.

James Wallis Eastburn's hymn, "O Holy, Holy, Holy Lord," composed in 1815, has already been mentioned as probably the earliest hymn produced within the Episcopal Church. In 1819, Francis Scott Key, a Churchman who had already written "The Star-Spangled Banner," composed the devotional hymn, "Lord, with glowing heart I'd praise Thee." In 1824, George Washington Doane wrote "Thou art the Way, to Thee alone," and "Softly now the Light of Day."[24] His friend Croswell, too, composed some hymns,[25] but they have not lived as has this last-mentioned one of Doane's. The name of William Augustus Muhlenberg has been spoken of before as that of a Christian educator. Before taking up his school work he had edited a volume of *"Church Poetry,"* which was published in 1823; afterward, he wrote such hymns as "Saviour, who thy Flock art feeding," and "Shout the glad Tidings."[26] In 1826, the year that these two hymns appeared, Henry Ustick Onderdonk, later Bishop of Pennsylvania, wrote the hymn that is still in vital use, "How wondrous and great, Thy Works God of Praise!"

[23] Pelletreau, "Visit of St. Nicholas," p. 17. Moore wrote other poems, which, with "The Visit of St. Nicholas," were published in 1844, in one small volume. They are not religious.

[24] New Hymnal (Episcopal) *in loco*. Three years later Doane wrote "Once more, O Lord, Thy sign shall be." (Hutchins Hymnal, No. 38.)

[25] Croswell, *Memoir of Croswell,* pp. 46, 55, 57, 61, 74, etc., prints some of Croswell's hymns. Croswell's *Poems,* published in 1861, contains them all. His "Lord, lead the way the Saviour went," written in 1831, is No. 270 in the Hutchins Hymnal.

[26] Ayres, *Life of Muhlenberg,* pp. 63, 85. Muhlenberg's "Like Noah's weary dove," composed in 1826, is No. 486 in the Hutchins Hymnal. Another clergyman who published a collection of hymns was J. P. K. Henshaw, of Baltimore, who later became Bishop of Rhode Island.

and another that is seldom used now, "The Spirit, in our hearts."[27]

C. *ENGLISH MATERIALS*

In the discussion of the materials used before 1815, it appeared that the Church had ceased to rely entirely on literature imported from England; not only were English materials being altered to fit American conditions, but also books of Church instruction were being composed and published in the United States. Yet one could not expect a sudden or a complete cessation of relations with English booksellers, for the Church's English lineage had been its strength in colonial days, its despair during the Revolution, and its comfort afterward when its very continuance under the new political order was contrary to the logic and the feelings of many of the people. In England there were opportunities for scholarship not possible in the new country, in England the standard works on the Church had been produced, and England was the source of further explanation and interpretation that would run true to the course of tradition.

What seem like representative English publications imported for use in the United States were advertised in the *Churchman's Magazine* for July, 1821. Chosen from the rather long list, the following titles will indicate the nature of these desirable English works: Patrick and Lowth's *Commentary on the Old Testament,* Hammond's *Paraphrase and Annotations upon the New Testament,* McKnight's *Harmony of the Gospels,* Stanhope's *Paraphrase and Comment on the Epistles and Gospels,* Burnet's *Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles,* Secker's *Lectures on the Catechism,* Pearson's *Exposition of the Creed,* Butler's *Analogy,* Wall's *History of Infant Baptism,* Wilson's

[27] Hutchins Hymnal, Nos. 467 and 596, respectively. Possibly the year 1826 became attached to certain hymns because the General Convention of that year approved a list of 212 hymns for use in church.

Parochialia, Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity,* King's *Inventions of Men in the Worship of God,* and a two-volume compilation called *The Scholar Armed against the Errors of the Times.*

The continued popularity of King's *Inventions of Men in the Worship of God,* and of Jones's *Essay on the Church,* was remarkable. These English hand-books had been republished[28] in the early days in this country. In 1827 the Rev. George Weller, editor of the *Church Register,* in Philadelphia, issued another American reprint of Jones's *Essay* in large pamphlet form.[29] This was soon followed by King's *Inventions.*[30] Mr. Weller then issued six other tracts in the same series, namely:

Waterland on *Regeneration and Justification.*
Law's *Two Letters to Hoadley, Bishop of Bangor.*
Leslie on *Deism and the Qualifications necessary to administer the Sacraments.*
Dr. T. G. Taylor's *Answer to the Question, "Why are You a Churchman?"*
Barrow's *Doctrine of the Sacraments.*
Law's *Third Letter to Bishop Hoadley.*[31]

According to a popular book of the time, a clergyman found the following books on the shelves of a woman who was prejudiced against the Episcopal Church and was surprised to learn that these favorite pieces of religious literature were by "Episcopal ministers": Sherlock on *Death;* Law's *Serious Call; The World Without Souls,* by the Rev. J. W. Cunningham; *The Dairyman's Daughter; The Young Cottager; Zion's Pilgrim; Force of Truth,* by Scott; and the works of John Newton.[32]

[28] King's *Inventions* had been reprinted and circulated by the Connecticut Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (*Episc. Watchman,* Aug. 16, 1828, p. 171). Jones's *Essay* was reprinted in 1794 (*cf. supra,* p. 118).

[29] *Gosp. Mess.,* Aug. 18, 1827, p. 124; Aug. 16, 1828, p. 124.

[30] *Episc. Watchman,* Aug. 16, 1828, p. 171.

[31] *Fifth An. Rep., Exec. Com., G. P. E. S. S. U.* (1831), inside front cover.

[32] Dorr, *Hist. of a Pocket Prayer Book* (1844 ed.), pp. 112, 113. Dorr's book

The English *Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge* should be noticed here, for its publications continued to be used by the Church in the United States. Of their kind, they were as standard as Pearson's *Exposition of the Creed* and Patrick and Lowth's *Commentary on the Old Testament*. A suggestive list of titles of the society's tracts and booklets has been included in a previous chapter, together with the Bishops' commendation of them as a "storehouse" of "religious armour." In 1832 a Church paper copied the following card issued by the society, with the prudent suggestion that it be placed over the fireplace of every dwelling in the land:

The
Interest of the Poor
and their duty
are the same;
For
Cleanliness gives Comfort,
Sobriety brings Health,
Industry yields Plenty,
Honesty makes Friends,
Religion procures peace of mind,
Consolation under Afflictions,
The Prospect of God's blessing,
Through Christ, in this life,
and the assurance of endless Happiness and Glory to Come.[33]

Although there was an atmosphere of authority about English publications concerning the Church, American independence

is based largely on fact, but even if the books named were not actually found together in a real experience, the author has given us a list of popular books of the time. Sherlock was a widely read English author. *The Dairyman's Daughter,* by the Rev. Mr. Richmond, an English clergyman, has been mentioned before as so popular that it was altered and used by people of various denominations.

[33] *Gosp. Mess.,* July 11, 1832, p. 91.

was nevertheless asserting itself, as has been said, in the field of Church literature. A list, published in 1829, of books "distinctive" of the Episcopal Church, makes no discrimination between English and American materials:

Bowden's Letters to Dr. Miller, on *Episcopacy*.*
Hobart's *Apology*.*
Essays on Episcopacy (originally published in an Albany paper).*
Potter on *Church Government*.
Skinner's *Primitive Truth and Order* (Vindicated).
Slater's *Original Draught*.
Dr. Cooke's *Essay on the Invalidity of Presbyterian Ordination*.
Letter from a Congregational clergyman to his Brethren, on *Episcopacy*.
A Blacksmith's Letter.
Trial of Episcopacy.
Shepherd, on *The Daily Service of the Church*.
Wheatley, on *The Common Prayer*.
Brownell's *Commentary on the Common Prayer*.
Daubeny's *Guide to the Church*.
Hobart's *Companion for the Altar*.*
Hobart's *Companion for the Festivals and Fasts*.*
The Christian Manual.*
The Episcopal Manual.
Fowler's *Exposition*.*
Hobart on *The Descent into Hell*.
Jarvis on *Regeneration*.
Hobart's *Sermons*.
Seabury's *Sermons*.
Whitby on the *Five Points*.
Howe's *Vindication*.
The Scholar Armed.*
Presbyterian Ordination Doubtful (a tract by A. Z.).
Strong's *Candid Examination*.
King on the *Inventions of Men*.*
Jones on the *Church*.*

Hobart's *Candidate for Confirmation instructed.*
Dehon on *Confirmation.*[34]

Potter, Skinner, Slater, Shepherd, Wheatley and Daubeny were well-known English authorities on Church matters. So were Bishop King and William Jones, of Nayland, whose popular books we have already described. *The Scholar Armed,* too, was by Jones; it was a compilation of religious essays. Whitby's book on the *Five Points* (*i.e.,* of Calvinism) was an old controversial work which had stood the test of numerous conflicts with Calvinistic doctrines.[35] Such books as these were helpful in settling matters of faith and stabilizing Church life. However, equally helpful books on the Church were being prepared and issued in America. More than half of the publications just listed were by American authors. To a section on American materials, then, we may now turn.

D. *BOOKS BY AMERICAN AUTHORS*

Of the thirty-two publications named above, eight were by Bishop Hobart. Other American Bishops represented on the list are Brownell, Dehon and Seabury.[36] "Howe's" *Vindication* was the contribution of the Rev. Thomas Y. How, an assistant minister of Trinity Church, New York, to the Presbyterian controversy which raged in the first decade of the nineteenth

[34] *Episc. Watchman,* Oct. 10, 1829, p. 238. Those marked with an asterisk have already been described, some of them in detail. Hobart's *Apology* was his well-known *Apology for Apostolic Order,* published in 1807. The *Essays on Episcopacy* were by Hobart. *The Christian Manual* was the one Hobart published in 1814.

[35] The book was by Daniel Whitby, D.D., "Late Chantor of the Cathedral Church of Sarum." It covers the topics of Election and Reprobation; the Extent of Christ's Redemption; Sufficient and Effectual, Common and Special, Grace; Freedom of the Will; and the Perseverance of Saints.

[36] Brownell's *Commentary on the Prayer Book* and Seabury's *Sermons* will be mentioned farther on. Bishop Dehon's material on *Confirmation* was "Two Sermons on Confirmation and an Address after administering that Holy and Apostolic Rite" (Dalcho, *Hist. of P. E. Ch. in S. C.,* p. 231), published about the year 1817.

century. The tract by "A. Z." on *Presbyterian Ordination Doubtful* was written by the Rev. Bethel Judd, of Connecticut.[37] Seabury had published one volume of discourses in 1798 and two more in 1815. In 1821, a few years after the death of Bishop Dehon, two volumes of his sermons appeared in Charleston. Some timely expository sermons by the Rev. George T. Chapman, gathered into a volume in 1828, were much read because they interpreted the characteristics of the Episcopal Church. In 1830 both Bishop Griswold and Bishop Ravenscroft issued some of their sermons in book form.

A good Episcopal Manual had appeared in 1815, written by the Rev. William H. Wilmer.[38] It contained chapters on the history, government and doctrines of the Church; on such matters as faith, original sin and repentance; on the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, with details concerning each and some prayers and meditations to use in connection with them; and on the Festivals and Fasts, and the worship of the Church, with concluding exhortations and prayers. Now that the Church was beginning to adapt itself to the new conditions, such expositions were needed,—partly to supply the actual demand for elucidations of Episcopal Church principles and partly to create further interest in the Church which had been imported by the English colonists and which had had vitality enough to survive the upheavals of the Revolutionary War and the prostration of the dark years which followed.

In 1818 a *Catechism of the Bible* appeared from the pen of the Rev. Menzies Rayner, Rector in Huntington, Connecticut. It claimed to cover "all the important events, characters and

[37] Beardsley, *Hist. of P. E. Ch. in Conn.*, II, p. 201. There were two parts, on Scripture Evidence and on Historical Testimony.

[38] The copy of the 1815 edition examined was anonymous. Whitaker, *Life of Richard H. Wilmer* (son of William H. Wilmer), p. 12, says that the Episcopal Manual was published in 1815 and that it was one of the earliest hand-books of the Episcopal Church. Allibone (*Dictionary of Authors*) records 1815 as the date of the first edition of the Manual. The edition of 1822 has Wilmer's name on it.

circumstances recorded in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments."[39] There has come to light no evidence that the little book had an extensive circulation, but it is remarkable for being probably the first publication to emanate from Episcopal circles in the United States, barring some sermons, which had any chance of being used and approved by the religious public generally. In those days the Episcopal Church was weak and misunderstood; naturally, the few publications that appeared from the bosom of the Church were in the nature of explanations of the Catechism, the Prayer Book and the principles of the Church, things concerning which there could not be general interest. Rayner stepped beyond the Episcopal circle to ground that was common to all Christians. It is possible that in preparing his *Catechism of the Bible* he contemplated its use in the Sunday Schools, which by the year 1818 were beginning to flourish throughout the country.

In 1820 two valuable books of Episcopal Church history appeared, showing that by this time the Church in the United States had had enough experience to record in permanent form. The first in importance was Bishop White's *Memoirs,* a storehouse of information concerning the official proceedings of the Episcopal Church in those almost hopeless years following the Revolution. "Having lived," he says, "in the days in which there existed prejudices in our land against the name, and much more against the office of a bishop; and when it was doubtful, whether any person in that character would be tolerated in the community; I now contemplate nine of our number, conducting the duties of their office without interruption."[40] Naturally the book deals largely with matters of organization and administration, but it is conversational rather than technical, and must have helped many people to a clearer understanding of the

[39] Rayner, *Catechism,* title-page. The book was published by Flagg and Gray, New Haven, 211 pages, 12mo.

[40] White, *Memoirs,* pp. v, vi.

Episcopal Church and her attempts to propagate religion. The other history published in 1820 was *An Historical Account of the Protestant Episcopal Church in South Carolina,* by Frederick Dalcho, M.D., Assistant Minister of St. Michael's Church in Charleston, South Carolina.[41] The material in the book is arranged by parishes,—those in "Charles-Town" first and then on through the others,—Goose-Creek, Winyaw, Waccamaw, Beaufort, and the rest.

Another useful book, too large to be called a manual, was the *Commentary on the Prayer Book,* by Bishop Brownell of Connecticut, published in 1823. "No complete work on the Liturgy," he declared in his preface, "has yet been issued from any American Press."[42] He used a great deal of English material, especially that of Dr. Mant, Bishop of Killaloe, but he also quoted from sermons and other productions of American authors. With the English writings his method was to make "omissions, alterations and additions" to fit them "to the state of the American branch of the Church." Bishop Brownell's book was a large quarto volume containing the text of the Prayer Book with many commentary notes, in smaller type, on the lower half of the pages; the name of the commentator appeared after each citation, and Brownell's own initials (T. C. B.) after each of his own articles. One of Brownell's original contributions ran as follows:

> The Prayer for Congress is not only an admirable form of devotion for general use, but affords the most excellent instruction to the members of that assembly; who should learn from hence to make "the advancement of God's glory, the good of his Church, and the safety, honour and welfare of his people" the constant and invariable object

[41] In dedicating the book to the Rt. Rev. Nathaniel Bowen, D.D., Bishop of South Carolina (pp. iii, iv) Dalcho calls it "the first Historical Account of a part of the Church in America," and rightly says that it is "full of instruction to the Clergy of the present day."

[42] Andrew Fowler, in 1805, had published at Burlington, New Jersey, an *explanation* of the Prayer Book in question-and-answer form (*cf. supra,* pp. 125-127).

of their deliberations. To this end they should banish from their breasts all considerations of private interest, and local or party attachment, and should always remember that "peace and happiness," which we daily pray for, can never be obtained or preserved, without the establishment of "truth and justice, religion and piety"; for righteousness alone *exalteth a nation,* but *sin is a reproach,* and will in the end bring ruin and destruction *to any people.* (Prov. xiv, 34). But whether our Governors and Legislators do their duty or not, we must be careful not to neglect ours; which is, to speak of them with respect, to submit to the laws they enact, and, to pray fervently to Almighty God, that he will direct their councils according to his will, and *teach our Senators wisdom.* T. C. B.[43]

American materials of which Bishop Brownell made use were sermons by Bishop Dehon, of South Carolina; by Bishop Hobart, of New York; by Bishop Moore, of Virginia, and by the Rev. Dr. Samuel F. Jarvis, Rector of St. Paul's Church, Boston; and Bishop White's *Memoirs,* his *Lectures on the Catechism,* and his *Comparison of the Calvinistic and Arminian Controversy;*[44] and Bishop Hobart's *Companion to the Prayer Book.*[45]

In 1824, the year after the appearance of Bishop Brownell's *Family Prayer Book,* Professor Samuel H. Turner, of the General Theological Seminary in New York, published his first book, *Notes on the Epistle to the Romans.* It was a small volume, dedicated to Bishop White. Two or three years later he and William R. Whittingham, who at the time was beginning to take a leading part in the General Protestant Episcopal Sunday School Union and who later became Bishop of Maryland, published a joint translation of Jahn's *Introduction to the New Testament.* Interest in this book proved to be too slight

[43] Brownell, *The Family Prayer Book,* p. 69.

[44] So worded in Brownell's list. In an advertisement of the book in White's *Memoirs,* last page, it appears as "*Comparative Views* of the Controversy between the Calvinists and Arminians, 2 vols., 8vo."

[45] *Ibid.,* pp. 677, 678. The books of Bishops Dehon, Hobart and White (except the *Comparison of Controversy*) have been noted before.

to warrant a second edition. In 1829 another joint work, mostly translations, appeared—*Essays and Dissertations in Biblical Literature*. To this book Turner contributed translations from Gesenius; Whittingham contributed a "Life of Bochart"; the Rev. Mr. Eastburn, assistant at Christ Church, New York, contributed translations of Storrs's "Dissertation on the Kingdom of Heaven" and Tittman's "De Vestigiis Gnosticorum"; and the Rev. Mr. Schroeder, assistant at Trinity Church, New York, contributed translations of Eichhorn on "The Authenticity and Canonical Authority of the Scriptures of the Old Testament" and of Dr. John David Michaelis's "Study of the Syriac Language." This book was no more successful than the previous joint effort. Turner's next publication was translations of critical and interpretative parts of the *Introduction to Theological Knowledge,* by Dr. J. G. Planck, Professor of Theology at Göttingen. To this material Turner added copious notes. Only thirty-five copies of this book were sold; most of the rest of the edition Turner gave away to his theological students.[46] His work at the seminary continued through many years, during which he published other books from time to time.[47]

Another professor in the General Theological Seminary, Gulian Crommelin Verplanck, published a book in 1824, *Essays on the Nature and Uses of the Various Evidences of Revealed Religion*. There were six essays and an appendix. The book covered, in order, the topics of concurrent evidences of revealed religion, the power of human reason, "The probable Characteristics of Truth in the Doctrines, Precepts and Moral Influence of any Religion," the intention and uses of the different sorts

[46] Turner, S. H., *Autobiography,* pp. 117, 118, 126, 127, 167, 168, 171, 172.

[47] The titles of Turner's books show that they could not become popular, but were valuable to those whose interests they covered. In noticing the appearance of Turner's commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians, in 1856, a Church magazine says: "Here is another of those learned works of Dr. Turner, which are entirely above our range; and of which we can only say, as we have said of its predecessors, that we must leave it to rest on the well-earned reputation of the excellent and learned author" (The *True Catholic,* Dec., 1856, p. 380).

of evidences, critical internal evidence, and, in the last essay, evidences in the congruity of narrative and character, of style and manner, and a discussion of the connection between "partial obscurities of the Bible" and "probable uses and intention." Mr. Verplanck left the seminary soon after the publication of this book, which no doubt contains the substance of his lectures there. His later career was highly honorable,[48] but it yields no further material for a history of religious education.

Two more books of evidences came out, in successive years. In 1832 Charles P. McIlvaine, soon afterward called to succeed Philander Chase as Bishop of Ohio, published his *Evidences of Christianity*. It was a careful and substantial piece of work, dignified in style and fair in its appeal to thinking people. Its circulation was not confined to the United States; it was used in England and was translated into Italian.[49] The book dealt with the standard arguments on Christian Evidences, drawn from the Scriptures, from the Gospel History, from Miracles, from Prophecy, and from the spread of Christianity and its beneficent results.

In 1833, John Henry Hopkins, who the year before had been consecrated Bishop of Vermont, issued his *Christianity Vindicated,* the first little volume of a considerable series of religious books from his pen, which appeared at intervals during the next thirty years. *Christianity Vindicated* contains seven earnest discourses in support of Christianity. Man's high destiny is attained, he assures, through Christianity as the only true religion. There is strong evidence in the New Testament, the writers of which could not have been deluded, nor could they have misled others. Further evidence comes from the enemies of

[48] A good brief account of Verplanck's life is to be found in William Cullen Bryant's *Discourse on the Life, Character and Writings of Gulian Crommelin Verplanck* (in Yale Hist. Pamphlets). He became a member of Congress, where he worked for better protection of authors. Later he was a member of the State Senate of New York. He was also well known as a Shaksperian scholar.

[49] Carus, *Memoirs of McIlvaine,* pp. 62, 63.

Christianity as well as from the Church Fathers and the martyrs. More testimony lies in the dynamic power which brought the Church into being. Revelation through men gifted with miraculous religious capacity is more effective than it would be if it came direct to each individual. Prophecy is none the less authentic because it is often obscure. The seventh discourse contains answers to various infidel objections. Three concluding chapters are occupied with proofs and illustrations of the author's contentions.

These books on *Christian Evidences,* written by prominent educators of the Episcopal Church, showed familiarity with the common ground of Christian belief and a religious and literary ability which people of other communions could not help respecting. This tended to foster the spirit of comity and to hasten recognition of the Episcopal Church as a vital factor in the religious life of America. Of course the reason for having Bishops was not yet clear to all. Bishop Henry U. Onderdonk's "Episcopacy Tested by Scripture," first published in the *Protestant Episcopalian* at the close of the year 1830, stirred up in certain quarters a lively controversy, but this diminished as time went on. Meanwhile young men were seeking the ministry of the Episcopal Church. In 1833 Bishop White issued a useful commentary on the Ordination Services. The same year some telling activities of parish life came before people in a very readable book by "a Country Parson's Daughter," entitled *Scenes in our Parish.* Such books were indications that the Episcopal Church was now well settled in the land and was doing constructive work. Indeed, the new life moving within the Church was soon to break forth and assert itself with dignity and power.

XVIII.

THE YEAR 1835 AS THE TURNING POINT IN THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH

FROM the previous chapters it is evident that at first the Episcopal Church was quite as English as conditions would permit. In colonial times the dependence on England had established rather firm English traditions concerning the desirability of education, traditions which became solidified by natural pressure from the mother country. The clergy, for instance, compelled as they were to go to England for ordination, had to meet English standards of learning. The few colonial schools and colleges, controlled by clergy who were either English or dependent on England, were fashioned as closely as possible after the ideas prevalent in that country. Not only was printed matter imported from England for those who could read, but the Prayer Book used at the services was that of the English Church, containing prayers for the king, and quaint expressions[1] which the American revisers altered. The work among the Indians and the negroes was planned in England, as were the charity schools. These various educational activities left a deposit of tradition which the political Revolution failed to destroy.

In the years immediately following the Revolution, the Church was widely discredited and broken,—a little straggling fragment of an army, practically destitute of officers. Fortunately, before the destructive conflict, it had been together long enough to learn at least some of the educational traditions that belonged to it. In the face of adversity it was unwilling to condone ignorance among its clergy. Some of its future educational

[1] In the Lord's Prayer, for instance, "forgive them that trespass" was changed in the American book to "forgive those who trespass."

leaders taught in schools and colleges. Through organized efforts, the Church was beginning to instruct people who had been little influenced by either school or college, stimulating religious activities and spreading enlightenment concerning Church matters; societies formed to disseminate religious knowledge were helping the clergy by distributing printed matter. Such accomplishments were promising, but the Church was still feeble and depressed, and surrounded with grave doubts as to ultimate recovery. It would not be quite safe to assert that the Sunday School movement, starting in 1815, was the sole means of reviving the Church, but the thought is not to be dismissed entirely. Sunday Schools proved to be great benefits, not only because they brought so many ragged children under the influence of the Church and instructed them in things they sorely needed, but also because they furnished to Church people an ample outlet for sympathy and a rich field of service. After the Sunday Schools were well started, a new life came into the Church. It grew in every way. Theological seminaries came into being, schools and colleges appeared, American printed matter in the form of books and periodicals augmented the instructions of pulpit and Sunday School class. By 1835 the Church was educating people of all ages, from the little ones in the "Infant" Schools to the sequestered elders who in the retirement of the home were trying to prepare themselves for another world.

This new life within the Church soon developed a new point of view, which declared itself rather definitely in 1835. The change was not so abrupt that one could say that up to 1835 the Church was of one nature, and then suddenly took on another aspect; historical changes come about slowly, wrought by forces that require time to achieve their results. We have seen how the Church was becoming more and more American and was gradually asserting itself in such a way as to indicate confidence in the security of its foundations. After feeling the

thrill of expansion, the Church was no longer satisfied to deal only with the things immediately at hand and to depend on mere chance for its opportunities; in 1835 the Church decided to set forth in the spirit of religious conquest. The General Convention of 1835 changed the constitution of the Board of Missions to include in the membership of that organization every baptized member of the Episcopal Church, and elected the Rev. Jackson Kemper as Missionary Bishop in the unorganized territory in the rapidly growing far West. The history of the Church thereafter has to be written from a different angle,—from the standpoint of a centralized and aggressive Church organization rather than from the standpoint of desultory efforts bound together only by contemporaneousness.

In the more distinctly educational departments of the Church the logical movement had been toward centralization. In the year 1835, the *General Protestant Episcopal Sunday School Union* felt that the time had come to turn its activities over to the full charge of the General Convention; because one member of the committee having the matter in hand opposed the step, the Union lacked the desired complete unanimity and abandoned the plan.[2] Again, at the General Convention in that same year the House of Deputies voted to establish a *General Educational Society*. Although the stated purpose of the organization was the education of "pious young men for the Ministry," its name "General" suggests that its work would have grown to include other educational activities of the Church. The society was not approved by the House of Bishops, but its acceptance by the larger and more representative body shows the drift toward the center. In the next quarter of a century the process of centralization thus beginning increased in momentum.

In Sunday School matters the year 1835 marks the climax of the warm enthusiasm with which these institutions took up

[2] *Cf. supra*, pp. 206, 207.

their work and became the great means of educating the young in religion. Already, before 1835, there had been some inarticulate murmurings of resentment against this upstart institution which had so completely relieved parents of responsibility for teaching their children religion by means of the Church's prescribed Catechism; after 1835, these complaints were not only louder, but also more effective. Some[3] went so far as to urge complete reliance on old-fashioned catechization, and to advocate either the abolition of the Sunday School as we have described it or else its relegation to a status of humble insignificance.

Before 1835, Church schools and colleges had been few; after that year they began to multiply. Shortly after 1835, too, many Church schools for young ladies came into existence. It was in the memorable year 1835 that the Rev. Francis L. Hawks turned over to the custody of the General Convention the files of the Church magazines issued up to that time; these publications had then become so numerous that it was impossible for him to subscribe for and take care of them. By the year 1835, not only were there books by American authors to cover all the necessary Church instructions, but also Episcopal ministers were beginning to issue books of general religious interest.[4]

Here, then, we may leave the Church for the present,—in a position of independence, of growing self-expression, and of hope for the future. Scant though her educational achievements so far may seem in comparison with modern accomplishments, relatively they were creditable enough. Sunday Schools, colleges, schools, periodicals, books, theological seminaries and less formal educational efforts all worked together for a general good, like the various members of the physical body. It may not seem out of place to note that the theological seminaries performed a much-needed educational work, that of training the

[3] Bishop George W. Doane, in New Jersey, for instance.
[4] McIlvaine's and Hopkins's *Evidences*, for instance.

leaders without whom the Church could not have advanced so promisingly. Of course the Sunday Schools remain in a class by themselves; the work they did mounted up to a tremendously large total of religious education. In the entire history of the Church, there had been nothing to approach in value to the Church and to society the acquisition and consecration of so much young life as came through the Sunday Schools; and since then there has been no religious movement of such inestimable value.

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APPENDIX

SUNDAY SCHOOL STATISTICS—1835[1]

	Clergy	*Parishes*	*Sunday School Scholars*	*Sunday School Teachers*
Maine	5	5	338	54
New Hampshire	6	9	272	52
Massachusetts	38	37	2,000	..
Rhode Island	18	16	2,023	203
Vermont	17	30	..	..
Connecticut	80	..	2,859	716
New York	194	214	7,616	639
New Jersey	32	35	1,569	220
Pennsylvania	79	86	4,953	658
Delaware	6	..	..	..
Maryland	66	..	1,673	169
Virginia	71	..	..	..
North Carolina	23	38	677	108
South Carolina	43	38	1,853	213
Georgia	6	5	170	27
Ohio	31	46	2,600	..
Kentucky	14	7	..	..
Mississippi	3	..	..	..
Tennessee	13	14	..	..
Alabama	3	7	..	..
Michigan	8	10	..	..
Illinois	7	..	58	..
			28,661	3,059

[1] *Jour., Gen. Conv.*, 1835, pp. 140, 141.

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